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ART. I.—1. *Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for the Year 1839.*

2. *Reflections on West India Affairs after a recent Visit to the Colonies: addressed to the consideration of the Colonial Office.*

By Lieutenant Colonel the Hon. Sir Edward Cust. 1839.

It is peculiarly encouraging, amid the doubts and alarms with which the world resounds, to retire from its din and bustle, and contemplate the bright prospect which revelation unfolds of the eventual triumph of the Church of God. How glowing on this subject is the language of prophecy! "The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. 'The sons of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee, and all they that despised thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet; and they shall call thee The City of the Lord, The Zion of the Holy One of Israel. Whereas thou hast been forsaken and hated, so that no man went through thee, I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations.'"*

It is indeed true that the Church has had her trials, as well as her triumphs—trials, such as no society but one divinely constituted could ever have survived—trials, which were themselves the subject of prediction. "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee."† Her path to glory was to be through suffering. The victory was not to be achieved without a warfare. She has all along been, and ever perhaps will be, here on earth a "Church Militant;" whilst her adversaries have often been, especially in the infancy of the Christian Church, the mightiest of the earth. But "they that had overcome the world, could not strangle Christianity." On the contrary, she strangled even in her cradle the hissing and veno-

* Isa. 60, v. 14, 15.

† Isa. 43, v. 2.

mous creatures, her blasphemers and persecutors, which came to destroy her. "So," says the excellent and eloquent Jeremy Taylor—"So have I seen the sun with a little ray of distant light challenge all the power of darkness, and without violence and noise climbing up the hill, hath made night so retire, that its memory was lost in the joys and spriteness of the morning; and Christianity without violence or armies, without resistance and self-preservation, without strength or human eloquence, without challenging of privileges or fighting against tyranny, without alteration of government and scandal of princes, with its humility and meekness, with toleration and patience, with obedience and charity, with praying and dying did insensibly turn the world into Christian, and persecution into victory." Thus did the efforts of the persecutor terminate either in his conversion or discomfiture: and whilst the powers, which had arrayed themselves against the Church, decayed and fell to pieces, the Church itself spread and gathered strength, and men were enabled to read, by the light of history, the truth of those predictions which had long been recorded in holy writ. The stone which the builders refused became the head of the corner; and those who fell on it were broken in pieces. Though "kings of the earth had set themselves and rulers taken counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed," their puny efforts were laughed to scorn on high; for the kingdom of Christ had been set up in Zion, with a promise of the heathen for his inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession. "Christ triumphed over the princes and powers of the earth before he would admit them to serve him; he first felt their malice before he would make use of their defence; to show that it was not his necessity that required it, but his grace that admitted kings and queens to be nurses of the Church."*

But if such be the appointed triumphs of the Church of the living God, and such the doom of her adversaries, it becomes clearly a matter of prudence, as well as of duty, to be found in that which will eventually prove the safe, the victorious side: and our holy and heavenly religion is to be regarded not in the condescending light in which some mistaken persons have been pleased to view it, as an object of human patronage and protection, but as being, whether to individuals or nations, our great glory and defence, our resource under distress, our refuge in danger;—"as a hiding place from the wind, as a covert from the rain, a rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." To human eyes indeed the Church may often appear weak, like Christ himself in his infancy; and her enemies at one powerful, fierce and subtle, like Herod when "he sought th

* Bp. J. Taylor.

young child's life." The world may be on the side of the persecutor; yet what avails it, if heaven is with the Church, and her cause be that of God and his angels? It has been quaintly said that "the Church is an anvil which has broken many a hammer," and the highest authority assures us that the Son of God bears not only a sceptre of mercy, but also his rod of iron with which to dash his enemies in pieces like a potter's vessel. If therefore we plead the claim of Christ's Church to the support whether of prince or people, it is not so much as a matter of necessity to *her* as of safety, and honour and blessing to *them*. It is in short, as Bishop Taylor justly puts it, a privilege to nations and their rulers, that our Lord, instead of suffering his religion to pursue its way alone, in defiance of the councils of kings and the rage of the people, and instead of leaving his adversaries to be consumed, like rebellious Jerusalem or persecuting Rome, by fiery indignation from on high, vouchsafes to accept the services of nations and their rulers, and permits them to "walk in the light" of his Church, and to "bring their glory and their honour into it," as into a safe sanctuary. There can be no doubt that the Redeemer *could*, if he saw fit, maintain and advance his Church in the world without any of the world's aid, nay more, in despite of the world's fiercest opposition; that souls without number might be saved, one by one, whilst each people as a body were consigned to reprobation, and every throne enveloped in a curse; and all this might be very agreeable to the profound notions of some would-be statesmen, or to the patriotic views of modern sectaries; but what would become of those gracious promises, which speak of Christ as a blessing "to all the *nations* of the earth?" What of the command to "baptize all *nations*?" What of the predictions already adverted to, that kings and queens shall be worshippers of Christ and nourishers of his Church, and "the forces of the Gentiles with their kings be brought" unto her? What too of the threat that the *nation* and *kingdom* which will not serve Christ in his Church shall perish; "yea those nations shall be utterly wasted."

Alas! then for any country,—alas, even for Britain with all her wealth and all her education, her sciences and her arts, her unwearied activity, her numberless institutions, her glory in arms whether military or naval, or her magnificent belt of colonies encircling the globe—yet, alas! even for Britain, should she listen to such counsellors as those just alluded to, who would deprive her as a nation of her "lot and portion" in the blessings of Christianity, and remove her from under the direction of God's providence!

Our strength as a nation lies in our religion, which, like Samson's hair, may appear to some only an ornament, or even a superfluous

incumbrance; but once cut it off, and the strong man becomes an easy prey to his enemies. It is even thus that modern liberalism, like another Delilah, has succeeded in finding out the secret of England's strength; and if England now "sleep upon the knees" of the deceiver, adieu to those triumphs over the Philistine enemies of our constitution, which have hitherto been achieved by England's powerful arm.

At home, indeed, our country is becoming daily more and more alive, apparently, to the danger which she had well nigh incurred, and from which she has not even yet perhaps altogether escaped, of ruining herself by the sacrifice of the Church. The citadel may yet be strengthened and defended; though the walls and the outworks may be more or less abandoned to the enemy. England may still have her Church, however disposed she may be to surrender Ireland to the Jesuits (we say nothing of Scotland), or to encourage in the colonies, by a system of universal favour, a continual conflict of all persuasions.

Leaving then, for the present, the consideration of the Church at home, we propose to direct attention to the position which she occupies, and the treatment which she appears to receive, in the colonies, and especially in the West Indies, so far at least as the publications before us throw any new light upon the subject.

That in past times we have been, as a nation, culpably negligent in providing, on *any* plan, for the religious wants of our colonies, is but too notorious. The extension of our religion has not even been made an object in the extension of our empire. England, forgetting her position in the world as a Christian state, has acted, in her measures of conquest and even of colonization, just as any heathen nation might have done, without any solicitude for the honour of her God, without any regard to her own religious responsibility. If at any time she has shown any anxiety on the score of religion, it was exhibited chiefly if not solely in a fear of offending the religious prejudices of her new dependents; and accordingly her cannon have roared assent, and her warriors been summoned forth to do honour, as in Malta or the West Indies, to the Roman worship; or, as in Corfu, to the Greek; whilst, in India, she has even mixed herself up with the obscene and bloody rites of the abominable Juggernaut. Such until within a late period was the religious—or to use its proper epithet—such was the irreligious, the atheistical policy of this mighty nation; and to a great extent it is so still. Ashamed of her faith, or afraid of avowing it, or at the best regardless of its holy claims, she has caused the Church to veil her glories not only to forms of Christianity, to which she does not assent, but even to the worst pollutions of heathenism. The furtherance

of true religion in her colonies and provinces, or indeed of any religion, excepting as subsidiary to some *worldly* end, seems hardly even yet an integral part of her measures. It is true the question of religion has of late years gained more attention. But the work is not even yet conducted upon any fixed plan or principle, especially by the nation as such. It is left, on the contrary, almost entirely to voluntary religious associations to proceed in the matter just as they may feel inclined, whilst the nation looks on for the most part as an unconcerned spectator; or, if she interferes, it is too often to hinder rather than assist, by withdrawing her support from the Apostolic Church, and embracing every opportunity of strengthening its enemies. Witness, for instance, the discontinuance of the grant for the support of the Canadian Clergy; witness again the encouragement given to Romanism in Australia as so forcibly exposed by the Bishop of Exeter in his late well-known charge.

We do not mean to say that nothing has been done by the nation for the support of the Church in the colonies. We are aware of the provision made for the maintenance of bishops in the East and West Indies, and in the latter for the support also of some additional clergy; but we believe we are correct in stating that, since the year 1824, no public measures have been introduced for the benefit of the colonial Churches, involving any additional expense to the country, or requiring the concurrence of the Legislature. What the Government have been able to do without reference to Parliament, they have often done most readily. They have allowed new bishoprics or new archdeaconries to be constituted, but without any fresh provision for their support; which has been thrown either upon voluntary contributions, or upon some new application of the funds already allowed for ecclesiastical purposes.*

Clearly such a state of public feeling is any thing but a healthy one. The right course, without doubt, for a Christian country, would be to carry her religion with her wherever she went,—her own religion, not that of dissenters from her communion. Even in colonies conquered from the heathen or Mahometan powers, still, as, from the moment they became colonies, they would also become the resort of many British settlers, provision should be made both to supply their spiritual wants, and also to exhibit to the infidel the character and reality of our religion, so as, without compulsion or intolerance, to invite him to contemplate, and from contemplating perhaps to embrace it.

* At the same time it is a question, considering the present constitution of Parliament and the avowed principles of public men, whether it is desirable for the Church to accept money of the nation, which will be sure not to give it without a *quid pro quo* in the shape of ecclesiastical power.

“For evidently,” to avail ourselves of the words of the Bishop of Ely, “unless there be a competent provision made for serving God in spirit and in truth, after the most approved usages of the ancient Christian Church, we shall never be able to persuade unbelievers that we have that reverence for our religion which we profess to have for it. It ought therefore to be our invariable rule to show our own regard for our religion in a manner that cannot be mistaken, before we attempt to convert infidels to it; and this we cannot show with proper effect, but by joining together in the worship of the Almighty in public places set apart for such solemn purposes, and by ecclesiastical appointments, which are suitable to our own station in the country, and the state of civilization of those whom we hope to influence by our religious behaviour.” —*Sermon prefixed to Report*, p. 5.

It is the practice, we believe, of the Romanists, to send out on their missions for extending their communion, not solitary presbyters, much less deacons or lay teachers, but a bishop with a body of clergy, and at once to erect the cathedral as the centre of their future congregations, the nucleus about which they are to be formed: and in this course of conduct they appear to act more in accordance with reason and apostolical precedent, than we do, who wait for congregations to be collected we know not how and churches (if such they can be called) to be formed on a clearly imperfect model, before we send forth duly authorised rulers to govern them, or even fit heralds to proclaim to them the tidings of the kingdom. If bishops are successors to the apostles, we should remember that the apostles were, in the strictest sense of the word, missionaries—the missionaries of the world; that they were the wise master-builders who laid the foundation of Christianity wherever they came, on which others, whom they appointed built; that they planted the field, which others watered; and thus it was in the primitive times of the Church, that God gave them increase. This apostolical order we have inverted, beginning with the catechist and ending with the bishop, if indeed we do so end. For often it happens that those who have begun without bishop, would fain end without one too. Left so long to themselves, they become accustomed to what is in effect nothing but independency, or at the best presbyterianism: and to make them Episcopalians, or more properly speaking, Catholics, is almost another conversion, the adoption in a manner of a new religion which they cannot accomplish without a sacrifice of persons; consequence, if not, apparently, of religious liberty. Hence, no doubt, have arisen in a great measure the difficulties which our colonial bishops have generally had to encounter, the unpopularity of the office, the disrespect with which it has been often treated, the distrust and suspicion with which it has been regarded. We have looked upon episcopacy as a strange novelty, a useless incun-

brance, a mere afterthought, not as part and parcel of our religion, and an essential part of the provision made by Christ for his Church; and it has been long before accumulated benefits, seconded by distinguished learning and devoted piety, have surmounted the prejudices which such neglect had engendered.

It should seem, then, that we have yet to consider what is the proper course to be pursued, if not by the nation, at least by the Church, for the more thorough Christianizing of our colonies.

But before we address ourselves more directly to the general question, we would pause to notice the able and interesting pamphlet, mentioned at the head of our article, and which we cannot refer to without expressing the lively satisfaction we have received from its perusal, and our hearty concurrence in the main with the wise and Christian views it contains. Piety and wisdom are no doubt equally valuable in every sphere; but there is something particularly cheering in finding them sound and bright where they seldom escape from being tarnished and infected, in the atmosphere, we mean, of camps, or of courts, or, more dangerous still, perhaps, of parliaments. That an individual, whose life has been passed amid the din of arms, or of politics, or amid the glare of palaces, should not be ashamed just now "to write himself a Churchman," and to bear so full and open a testimony in behalf of the Church, is another symptom, we trust, of the revival, among the gentry and nobility of England, of that spirit of manly and consistent piety which so peculiarly becomes them.

It is seldom we meet with pamphlets written in such a spirit, especially by our travellers, and we would plead this as our excuse if we should refer more largely to it than its bulk would seem to justify, especially as the light which it throws upon the state of religion in the West Indies, may assist as much in the consideration of the question we have just proposed, and to which we hope in conclusion to return.

The mention of the West Indies naturally suggests an inquiry in passing, were it only as a matter of historical curiosity, how far the recent emancipation of the negroes in our colonies promises as yet a desirable issue? The effect, indeed, of such a measure, is a question of importance not to the agriculturalist only, the merchant, or the statesman, but, more perhaps than all, to the Christian. If the State is interested, the Church is at least equally concerned, in the practical consequences of such a change upon so large a portion of our colonial population. Had it (as some anticipated) thrown them back into barbarism, not only would parliament have to bemoan twenty millions of money thrown away, but justice and freedom, benevolence and piety,

would have sustained, as it were, a signal defeat; Mammon would be again triumphant, whilst ignorance and selfishness, despotism, oppression, and vice might have celebrated their united orgies in adoration of the golden god.

We know, indeed, what forebodings were uttered, and what apprehensions are still entertained by many as to the effects of the emancipation; and we regret to observe a tinge of despondency on the subject even in the "Reflections" before us. On this point, however, we are somewhat consoled by considering that Sir Edward Cust's visit to the colonies was but a transient one, and took place so immediately after the emancipation of the negroes, that it was almost impossible for an individual even of his large and enlightened views to divine, how the poor negro, intoxicated with so amazing a change, and altogether a stranger to freedom (at least to the freedom of the labouring peasant), would ultimately demean himself. We must not wonder if, when their "captivity" was so unexpectedly "turned," like the parched deserts of the South, with the suddenly replenished streams, the newly emancipated were at first "like them that dream;" or if, instead of at once bending all their thoughts to work, "their mouth was for a time filled with laughter, and their tongue with singing." Time was clearly necessary to awaken them to their real position, and make them soberly feel and understand their new wants and duties. The juice of the grape must pass through a state of fermentation in order to become wine; and even then must be allowed to settle on the lees before it can be well refined. There was also another peculiarity in the case, which has been much overlooked. The negro, just emerging from slavery, was peculiarly jealous of every thing that appeared to bring him near it again; and, in his ignorance, it was easy to persuade him, it was easy to persuade himself, that some such danger continually beset him. It is notorious that mischievous persons, who wished either to annoy the planters or to embarrass the great measure seldom failed of their object when they struck this chord. "Only work five days in the week, only work nine hours in the day, only contract to work by the month, only promise any regular labour at all, no matter what your wages may be, and you will soon be slaves again." Under such a feeling, assiduously kept alive by foolish or designing men, the negro shrunk from every thing associated in his mind with slavery, from every thing, in short, which implied any sort of compulsion or even of restraint. He was free, and would work only just where, and when, and how he pleased. If he declined agricultural work altogether, it was not because it was laborious, but because it had been peculiarly the work of slaves. And whilst the negro was thus haunted continu-

ally by the ghost of his departed slavery, the planter who employed him might also be too apt to forget that the emancipation had taken place, and could not be reversed; that his labourer was now free as himself, and could no longer be dealt with in the summary manner of despotism, but must be treated with consideration and kindness, and led rather than driven to a faithful performance of his duty.

Under these circumstances we are by no means surprised at the following remark :—

“ Upon a calm review of all the impressions left on my mind, after a four months’ journey through the Windward Colonies, I am forced to the conviction that a whole generation must pass away before the negro, in a state of freedom, will attain, in his social condition, to any thing approaching the civilization of the European peasant, or will work with anything like the constancy and steadiness that is essential to the profitable culture of the land. Nor will this be surprising to a reflecting mind; for if it ‘takes three generations to make a gentleman,’ how much more must it require to make a barbarian civilized? The endeavour to do this by steam power and stove heat only produces an unnatural growth, in which the vices of the European and African united are more sensibly perceived than the better qualities of either. The simplicity of uncivilized life is sharpened into cunning by ‘a little learning;’ the contentedness of an humble condition is roused into a restlessness, which only cannot be dignified by the name of ambition, because there is not sufficient knowledge of the world to know what to aim at: whilst the sudden elevation in their condition altogether prevents them from being satisfied with continuing as they are.

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“ I am convinced that, taking a general view of the state of things in the colonies I have visited, the disposition to do any labour at all is but the result of old associations, which no law could instantly stop. It is rather the habits of the people to work, than their necessities, which urge them to it; and it is much more owing to the urgency of their employers, than the ordinary inducements to labour, that yet continues for a time the cultivation of the soil.”—*Reflections*, p. 9—11.

In the foregoing extract it is easy to observe how the West India proprietor, even such a proprietor as Sir Edward Cust, still clings to the ancient prejudice of slavery. Indeed our author openly denounces the measure of negro emancipation as “founded on no sound principle of colonial policy,” and complains that “time was not allowed to the planter to prepare for the mighty change” (p. 6). But had no time elapsed since the African was first introduced into the colonies, in which he might have been prepared (had *that* been the planter’s object) to take his place in society as a free man? Or did none intervene between the adoption of Mr. Canning’s “Resolutions,” and the passing of Lord Stanley’s

great measure? Or again, is it correct to speak of it as a matter of melancholy reflection "that liberty should have been decreed by a legislature before it had done one individual act to encourage and foster those principles, which the parent ought to have been careful to establish with a mother's anxiety, before it exposed its progeny to all the dangers and seductions of an unfettered condition of society" (p. 19)? What then was the establishment of two bishoprics in 1824, having for its object the moral and religious improvement of colonial society, with an especial regard to the slaves? Or what were the abolition of Sunday markets, the legalizing of slave marriages, and other legislative measures, urged, and often with success, by the imperial government? For our own part, we are satisfied that not only had time been allowed and measures taken, especially since 1823, but more than this, that, in 1834, a great moral change had, with the Divine blessing, been accomplished throughout all classes of colonial society, the slaves included, beyond what the most sanguine could have ventured to anticipate, and such as to render the abolition of slavery, under a strong and equitable government, free from any serious danger; whilst its continuance would have involved many serious risks. Had all slave owners indeed been like Sir Edward Cust, and all, moreover, been resident on their properties, the moral improvement of the slaves might have been left with more confidence in their hands. But, as a matter of fact, little was gained by the delay of freedom, so far as the co-operation of the masters generally was concerned.

"In glancing at the state of negro education at this date," says Mr. Latrobe in his Official Report of his visit to our West India Colonies, as Inspector of Schools, in 1838, "the past must not be overlooked: for without some knowledge of its character, it would be difficult to form a just estimate of the present.

"It appears evident that, previous to the emancipation in 1834, the education of the negro was carried forward in all these colonies, more or less, under every disadvantage.

"The colonial legislatures were openly adverse to it; the great body of the proprietors and administrators of estates not less so: for one of their own class to attempt it, or to favour it, was considered folly, or, what was worse, treason to the common interest; and were the individual a non-resident or an absentee, his designs were almost certain to be defeated."

This language may be a little too strong: still there is too much reason to fear that Mr. Latrobe was well informed when he added:

"In the majority of cases, the clergy or the missionaries, who were prompted to undertake the education of the slave, were looked upon

with an unfriendly eye. Not unfrequently open and acknowledged opposition was added to covert distrust and dislike. However high the character, and however unimpeachable the purposes of the offending parties, the spirit of fear and distrust could not be quieted; and it is notorious that it actuated the conduct of many in their treatment of the persons and projects of the highest dignitaries in the colonies, whether civil or religious."—*Extract from Latrobe in Society's Report*, pp. 39, 40.

Under such circumstances, surely, more "time allowed" would have been time thrown away. To teach or train the negro effectually, it was necessary to make him free. Slavery, in its best estate, is but a sorry apprenticeship for freedom. It is still as much under the old ban in a West Indian island as it was formerly in Ithaca;

"Ἡμῖν γὰρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
Ἀνέρος, εὖτ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δόλιον ἡμᾶρ ἔλθῃσιν.—*Odys.* xvi. 324.

And what is taken from the slave is not added to the master. It is every way a loss to both. Whatever may be the difficulties of promoting the improvement of the free negro, they would have been infinitely greater, and some of them insuperable, had he continued a slave. But happily he is now embarked on the great sea of freedom in the same vessel with his master; and the shores of slavery are receding from his view: its associations, its views, its fears are beginning to be forgotten. The freed labourer, having ended, as it were, his saturnalia, is learning by degrees, from that surest of all teachers, experience, what freedom really means, and that, whilst it places the emancipated in a new relation to his neighbours, and protects him from arbitrary treatment, it does not better his circumstances, excepting through his own exertions, makes industry and good conduct, which were before a matter of *compulsion*, now a matter of *necessity*, adds to the freeman's cares, and increases his responsibility both toward God and man. We are fully persuaded (and we do not speak unadvisedly) that many of the evils of which the gallant colonel found reason to complain, are gradually subsiding, that the negroes are showing themselves alive to the ordinary inducements to exertion which actuate other men, and that in general, where the labourers are *well and wisely managed* by men morally as well as otherwise worthy of respect, an estate in the West Indies is as valuable now as it was ten years back; indeed far more valuable than when the property of the colonists was washed away piecemeal, and in danger of being utterly absorbed, by the waves of that restless agitation concerning slavery, which was then raging. We acknowledge that

"the wants which were formerly brought to the door of the humbler

class, must now be sought for by them from the warehouses of the master or the merchant. A portion of the population, exclusively devoted to the culture of the soil, must therefore be withdrawn to provide the intermediate commerce which has to be created in this new condition of society."—*Reflections*, p. 56.

Though perhaps this defalcation may by degrees be more than supplied by the farther introduction of mechanical helps in the cultivation of the soil, if not also by a greater energy of labour in the freeman, than could ever be extorted from the slave.

We acknowledge farther that most of our West India colonies, such as Dominica and St. Lucia, but above all Guiana and Trinidad,

"have a soil teeming with fertility, without hands in any proportion to its wants and capabilities; for it is very clear that the present population is unequal to its necessities."—*Reflections*, p. 55.

and that their agricultural and political prosperity might be not preserved merely, but *increased* almost without limit by suitable additions to their population.

Towards the accomplishment of such an end, great exertions have already been made, particularly in Trinidad and Guiana, to procure labourers and artificers from the neighbouring colonies, from the South American states, from Malta, and even from the East Indies; but as yet, with a success very inadequate to their wants. We are not therefore surprised to find our author (himself a Guiana proprietor) insisting strongly that

"some plan must, however, be devised to obtain additional labour for these magnificent colonies, or they will become in a very short period a very valueless appendage to the British sceptre."—*Reflections*, p. 87.

And indeed proposing it as one of the great, perhaps the leading question of his pamphlet,

"How is the cultivation of our colonial lands to be maintained, and how can it be extended, without an immigration of labourers from some other regions?"—*Reflections*, p. 78.

The plan which Sir Edward himself proposes we will give in his own words.

"The measure I should desire to see adopted is, that a direct negotiation should be opened with the petty sovereigns of Africa, to obtain a supply of labouring families from thence; the Government undertaking the whole management and control of the emigration, both in regard to conveyance and destination. This would secure for our colonies a sufficient amount of labour, and would favour the civilization and promote the happiness of these people, who are now exposed to the miseries of a barbarous tyranny at home, or to an expatriation under accumulating cruelties that we are unable to prevent, if it did not altogether put a

stop to the Slave Trade. I do not believe that any traffic in slaves would stand for a moment by the side of such a measure."—*Reflections*, pp. 74, 75.

For a fuller exposition of the measure here proposed we must refer to the "*Reflections*." The chief objection which we are aware of against it (supposing it practicable), is that these emigrants from Africa would all of them be Mahometans or heathens, unacquainted with our language, unused to civilized life; and that therefore with an accession of free labour, there would also be a continual influx of superstition and barbarism, to corrupt the society of our colonies, and to retard their improvement. It should certainly seem better to attempt to civilize the Africans, before we entice them to emigrate to our colonies.

Since Sir Edward Cust visited the West Indies, a more promising channel seems to have been opened for the supply of labour than that from Africa. The inhabitants of the United States of North America are, it is notorious, loud in their advocacy of freedom; but it is equally notorious, that their love of freedom has something selfish in it, and that to the sons of Africa in particular, even when nominally free, our sturdy republican cousins dole out a very scanty measure of their boasted blessing. A free black or free coloured person in the States is allowed indeed to be taxed equally with his white fellow-citizens, but has not, even legally, the same civil rights; whilst as far as public feeling is concerned, he is continually exposed to contumely and annoyance, if not restrained from improving his condition and rising in society, or even enjoying in comfort the fruits of his labour.

Such, by the way, is the happiness of a democracy! The doctrine indeed *professedly* held in the United States is, that the two races (the African and the European) cannot exist together as partakers in equal freedom; and the consequence is that every effort is made to disburthen the republic of what it regards as an incubus, by ridding it altogether of the black and coloured inhabitants, excepting only the slaves of the Southern States; which their masters still obstinately retain as foils, we presume, to set off their own liberty; as proofs to the world how sincerely they love to be (themselves) free. For the purpose just adverted to, a colony, called Liberia, has been established in Africa, near Cape Palmas, on lands purchased from the native kings by an Association, which sends thither, we believe, free of expense, or as the case may require, all free persons of African descent who may be disposed to go. But—in every scheme there is a *but*, in selfish schemes there are many—it appears farther that the schemes of the Colonizationists are by no means so popular as might have been expected. Another party—the Emancipationists—object

to it, as removing the objects of their solicitude from within the pale of civilized society, and exposing them to the risk of being returned again into slavery, or else utterly exterminated by the kings aforesaid, should they desire to resume the territory purchased from them, enriched as it is with its new appurtenances. Even the children of Africa themselves have no wish to return to her bosom. Feeling more strongly still the objections of the Emancipationists, and personally unacquainted with the land of their fathers, they turn a suspicious ear to the advice of the colonizing party, when crying to them :

“quæ vos a stirpe parentum
Prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere læto
Accipiet reduces.—Antiquam exquirite matrem.”

A new door, however, has been opened to them by the abolition of Slavery in the British West Indian Colonies. There they may be no longer *half-free*, as in the land of democracy, but equally entitled, with the fairest of the colonists, to the protection and encouragement of British law; and, according to their real claims of character, education, or property, equally respected by their fellow subjects. Indeed, as things now go, a coloured complexion, so far from being a bar to advancement in the colonies, is rather a passport to it; it being part, apparently, of the present policy to bring up, or even to force up, the coloured inhabitants into the higher grades of society, with or else without the requisite qualifications. In private life, perhaps, there is a different feeling; yet even there, we feel assured that a coloured person born of respectable *married* parents, well educated, and otherwise qualified, according to the ordinary customs of civilized life, would, notwithstanding his colour, find ready admission into the best society in the colonies. It is not complexion which constitutes the great hindrance; but it is the simple fact that so few coloured persons have as yet attained to wealth and refinement, whilst still fewer have received a superior education; nor is even moral respectability always attended to as much as it should be. There can then be little doubt that coloured persons, of whatever grade, would make a happy exchange by removing from the rude neighbourhood of republicanism to a British Colony; and it is gratifying to learn that steps have already been taken both in Trinidad and Guiana to invite and facilitate their migration. We shall look with interest to the progress of a measure likely to benefit all the parties concerned;—to leave democracy “alone in its glory,” to add to the importance of our possessions in the Western tropics, as well as to strengthen, we trust, the Church, and give her fresh opportunities of winning souls to Christ and extending his kingdom. But we are reminded that our aim at

present is more especially a religious one, and that it is full time to return from this digression, though not inapplicable to our main subject.

Of the religious state of our colonies the "Reflections" supply many interesting notices : and we are rejoiced to find that one effect of the emancipation, to which Sir Edward Cust bears testimony, and of which we have similar information from various other sources,* is that the freed negroes flock eagerly to receive instruction, and to join in the ordinances of religion :

"The ardour with which they have sought religious instruction is so unlike the colder disposition of our latitudes, that we might perhaps be allowed to question whether such persons will settle down into a reasonable, devout temperament : but we cannot doubt their readiness to receive the impressions, or their capacity of doing so. The only difficulty in the way of education in the colonies, is that stumbling-block of all modern policy—sectarianism. This is a grievous impediment at home, but it is of far greater moment in the instruction of a semi-barbarous, semi-heathen population. The jealousy of rival religionists can find no compromise, but that of leaving religion altogether out of education ; but it *must* be part and parcel of all colonial instruction, if the civilization of the creole race is to be expected from it."—*Reflections*, p. 29, 30.

As to the ardour here noticed, may it not be attributable to the negro's want of mental cultivation, and the comparative novelty of religion to him, rather than to any peculiarity in his physical temperament ? A man in stature, he is but a child in understanding. When farther instructed, and more accustomed to his new privileges, our fear is that his present eagerness will too often subside into indifference, listlessness being, we suspect, a far more common ingredient in all creole character than ardour. But be this as it may, our duty plainly is to avail ourselves of his present disposition, and endeavour to interest him, soberly indeed, yet earnestly and permanently, in that religion, of which he is now so eager to hear. This the Church in the West Indies is attempting to the best of her present power ; and happily not altogether in vain.

"The Church of England, under the auspices of a most active and intelligent prelate, and with a clergy well worthy of being classed in respectability and general attainments with their brethren at home, has advanced, and is advancing, in all the British colonies, with strides only limited by the amount of her means, and with results that are the most cheerful and promising for the rising negro population. Her churches are rearing on every side, and her schools are the accompaniment of her

* We would particularly refer to the highly interesting Charges delivered by the Bishop of Barbadoes in 1838 (in Barbadoes), and in 1839 (in Guiana), from which copious extracts are given in the Report before us, pp. 41, 407.

churches, not in single buildings, but in several to each district. Independently of the abstract merits of the Anglican Church, an episcopal form of government is essentially to be preferred for a colonial church : supervision, whether ecclesiastical or civil, is extremely difficult when the directing power is distant. The bishop, the archdeacon, the rural dean, the rector, the curate, compose a chain of duties, which, working on the spot, keeps the machine in useful movement, and gives an undoubted assurance that every portion of it is performing its allotted portion of duty, and that the objects, which are intended to be effected, will be obtained. Let it not be imagined by uninformed persons, that these dignitaries are a useless class of ministers. A bishopric in the West Indies is a district of the globe co-extensive with the United Kingdom ; and, but for these subordinate jurisdictions, the constant oversight, which is so advantageous and essential, would be altogether impossible. The duties of the diocese of Barbadoes are most admirably executed by Bishop Coleridge, &c. * * * It is through the channel of the Church of England that the colonists look most confidently and affectionately for the religion and education of their people. Calumniated as she has been for many years by the unholy union of her adversaries, the Anglican restoration of the Catholic Church is still the Church of the English people, wherever her language and her laws obtain. Her sublime version of the Scriptures, and her most beautiful Ritual, must ever be a part of the classics of our language, and will be prized and valued so long as our rich and bounteous literature shall be remembered on the earth. It is to be hoped that her sons at home will never forget that their national Church was their first nurse of religions and civil liberty, and that they will gratefully enable her to maintain the ascendancy in our colonies, which, in the race of the voluntary system, her own merits and unobtrusive excellence, have already obtained for her.”—*Reflections*, p. 25—27.

From one or two sentences in the “*Reflections*,” besides that with which the above extract concludes, it might be supposed that the Church in the West Indies is dependent entirely on “the voluntary system” for support. This, however, is not the case, nor can it be what the author meant to imply. Throughout our West India colonies, some legal, and for the most part some local, provision is made, and that, in many cases, on a liberal scale, for the support of the Church ; but being in every case inadequate to the present wants of the colonies, it is assisted by voluntary contributions ; and this, we presume, is what Sir Edward Cust means by “the race of the voluntary system.”

With respect to the capacity of the negroes for social and intellectual improvement, our author gives the most distinct and decided opinion :

“I am quite confident that the negro can be rendered worthy of a state of freedom, and that he is as capable of civilization, and even of refinement, as his brother of the more temperate regions of the earth.

I hold it to be altogether a colonial prejudice, although I have heard it most confidently asserted by many excellent and (in other respects) sensible people, that the negro is by nature a debased creation, that nothing can improve. Apart from the sin of supposing that God could create a responsible creature, incapable of rendering a just responsibility, I must own that I have been surprised at the many proofs of the highest intelligence, and of many native good qualities, in this undervalued people.” —*Reflections*, p. 28.

Of the prevalence of Sectarianism we subjoin the following account :—

“ The preaching sectaries (by which I mean those Christian societies who have no form of liturgy) are not numerous in any of the colonies excepting Jamaica. In Guiana, which is the next stronghold they are supposed to possess in the West Indies, the missionaries do not exceed (as it appears from the published list in the *Almanac*) above eight individuals. There is always, I believe, a school attached to their chapelry ; and in that colony, where there is undoubtedly a general deficiency of opportunity for religious instruction, they obtain numerous congregations ; but these sects are not liked by the planters, and are not encouraged by them. A principal cause of this is the manner in which their ministers interfere with the secular concerns of the people, and become the occasion of much discontent in the community. These sects, included under the general term of preachers, are very dependant for their success upon the abilities of the missionary, and are best calculated to suit and please the negroes, when topics of exciting and stirring interest happen to arise among them. The Roman Church, with all its pomps and pageantries, is infinitely better calculated to attract powerfully a people like the negroes ; but a wide difference exists between it and the sects I have been considering, in that a school forms no essential part of the religious establishment. It is extraordinary how great an avidity is expressed, and I believe sincerely entertained, by the negro people to seek after education : and undoubtedly it is a point that should be encouraged by all who have the successful issue of the experiment of free labour at heart. There should be no indulgence shown to those religious sects who do not make this an essential part of the system : and I could wish that any payments made by the colonial legislatures towards the maintenance of the Roman Church, should be accompanied by an absolute condition, that education, upon a broad and satisfactory basis, should form a part of the duties of religion. In my humble opinion, the dangers apprehended from Romanism would be quite visionary, if education was grafted with it ; and this is the weapon with which I would encounter its spread all over the world. I am well aware that the attractions of the showy worship of Romanism are not ill calculated to win over an excitable and semi-barbarous race to Christianity ; yet if it be accompanied with ignorance and superstition, no great advance would be made upon the social condition of the people. The melancholy example of the Peninsula will abundantly testify this to any reflecting person. The Moravians are a sect of Christians to which the black population of

the West Indies are under the greatest obligations. * * *

* * * They are not very numerous in our colonies, excepting in the island of Antigua, and are not calculated for a mature state of civilization, as necessarily they are a class of no cultivation of mind, and their habits of instruction are better suited to the untutored savage, than to those who are very near the attainment of civilization as advanced as their own. The Methodists are throughout the colonies a numerous body, and the Wesleyan portion of them are a very respectable one; but they have been accused, I know not how justly, of interfering unnecessarily and offensively, in some of the islands, in the relations of labourer and employer, which will necessarily tend to withdraw the countenance of the landowners from them. Their earnest zeal has given them moral influence; but their mode of worship is too plain and simple for southern piety. The Church of Scotland does not greatly thrive in the West Indies: descended from a very poor parent, she does not possess the worldly means to make herself extensively useful, nor does she extend her borders even when she has the advantage of an endowment, as is the case in British Guiana. Perhaps no instance of modern state policy is so curious as the manner in which Scotch Presbyterianism has been colleague'd with the Anglican Church, in the joint Church Establishment of that colony. It is quite natural to understand the views which dictate the voluntary system in opposition to the sounder principle of one established form and doctrine, that leaves entire toleration for every other denomination of faith that can be conceived by the ingenuity of man: but it could scarcely have entered into any mind worthy of that of a statesman, to conceive the idea of two disagreeing Churches combined as a State Establishment; it is, in truth, no great matter in a country where the field is so extensive for every persuasion of Christians, and where the advantages conceded to any establishment are so few: but as far as it goes, it gives an advantage to the Presbyterian which he has not been able to turn to account, and I do not believe there are a numerous body in any of our colonies."—*Reflections*, pp. 21—25

We cannot agree with Sir Edward Cust in thinking that "it is no great matter" to sow, in a rising colony like British Guiana the seeds of religious discord, and to do it moreover systematically, with all the authority of government. Is not such a course in direct opposition to the scriptural principle, which forbids us to "sow the vineyard with divers seeds, lest the fruit of thy seed which thou hast sown, and the fruit of thy vineyard be defiled; or to "plow with an ox and an ass together,"*—a command which an apostle has taught us to understand, not in its literal sense, but in its spiritual application, when after citing the text "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox which treadeth out the corn," he adds, "Doth God take care for oxen?" Is it for them he thus speaks from heaven by express revelation? "Or saith he

* Deut. xxii, 10.

altogether for our sakes? For our sakes, no doubt, this is written." And may we not say the same of the other passage, that it too was written for the sake of Christ's apostolic ministry, that they might not only "plow in hope" of reward, but also with some prospect of success, and not be "unequally yoked" with others by nature or by office unfit for the work? At the best, such piebald proceedings are discreditable to the wisdom of their authors: at the best, they tend to place religion before the people in a false and dangerous position, as a thing of strife and controversy, as a matter of doubt with the very rulers of the land. If ever the ox and the ass were yoked together, if ever the "seed of the vineyard" was in danger of being "polluted," surely it is here. And what is the actual consequence? The encouragement of Presbyterianism emboldens other sects also to put themselves on a level with the Church, and to challenge from the country equal support.

Romanism, in particular, ever watchful for the opportunities which our worldliness, or our folly, or our supineness is continually affording, sends her Irish emissary to Demerara, not as a mere missionary or pastor, but invested with the assumed title of Bishop of British Guiana; and as if the title were really more than an empty name, it appears that at a public dinner not long ago given to the governor, when the toast of *the Church* was given, the so-called bishop from Ireland was the first to respond to it, though it had previously been arranged by the proper parties that it was to have been acknowledged by the regularly appointed archdeacon of the province, the representative of the real bishop of the diocese. But in vain did the archdeacon attempt to discharge the office assigned to him. What was wanting in right, was made up in rudeness, and Rome prevailed; the Scotch moderator meanwhile smiling approbation on the bold intruder. These are trifles, it is true, in themselves; but they exhibit the *animus* of the party concerned. They are straws, which show how the wind sets: may they not prove more! like the small scudding clouds which precede a hurricane.

Knowing the genius of Romanism, knowing that in our colonies the Roman Catholic priest is often one of the lowest of his order, a mere adventurer, or perhaps an outcast from some foreign colony, with scarcely an object in view, apparently, but the accumulation of money by means of exorbitant and often unwarrantable fees,* we wonder that so enlightened a person and so

* In St. Lucia, we understand, not only does the priest obtain large fees for placing shrines of the Virgin upon the rocky headlands to protect the poor pirogue men as

sound a churchman as Sir Edward Cust should have contemplated for a moment any state countenance to so dangerous a body. Surely the infection of liberalism must have spread widely indeed, to have reached an individual of his mental and religious character! But these are strange times, when some of the best and soundest men seem to think that they have never done enough to show their magnanimity, until they have made some new concession to error, and removed at least one more barrier from before the Church of God. We almost tremble for the effect in the colonies of such a declaration upon persons of less religious principle and more worldly views.

As some contrast to the motley assemblage of religionists encouraged in British Guiana, and the confusion of tongues which in consequence prevail, enough to bewilder the poor negroes, and to make religion itself a laughing-stock to its enemies, as if the government had determined to let loose one set of opinions against another, a set of errors against a set of truths, like Pharaoh's lean kine to devour the fat and well-favoured, so that it must needs tax the wisdom of "the governor of the land" to keep any religion at all in the country, we would add Sir Edward Cust's account of Barbados.

"In a high state of cultivation, and amply peopled, this colony has been, upon the whole, very advantageously prepared for the change by many peculiarly operating circumstances that have occurred in the condition of the labouring population, in comparison with every other colony I visited * * * * * The population of the island of Barbados is in such proportion to the extent of its wants, that the relation between labour and employment attains there to its just and natural level—there is little or no waste land to tempt the squatter; and if a family be ejected from any estate for misconduct, there will be a difficulty for them to obtain shelter and employment elsewhere. On the score of religion also, to which I shall have presently to revert, I may as well mention in this place the absence of sectarianism to any extent as a peculiar blessing attaching to this colony. In 'Little England,' as it is called, the parish church whitens the landscape, seated amidst its spacious churchyard, and with the parish school house, its unvarying appendage. The roads (not so good as they might be) are stirring with a busy population on foot, on horseback, and in carriages. The land is one uninterrupted field of sugar-cane and Guiana corn, for there are few trees and no woods, to interrupt the cultivation. The cottages are here devoted each to a single family; they are surrounded very frequently with a little garden for cassava, ginger, aloes, peppers, &c.; in some case

they pass, but sells also at a high price his benediction upon the unfruitful mango-tree to remove its barrenness, or the charmed bag to be hung around the negro's neck in order to keep away serpents. Is this the religion which we are called upon to support and encourage in the British colonies, or indeed in any part of the British realm?

even (as at Clay Hill, the property of Mr. Sharpe.) a pretty dowerly bower decorates the door of the negro dwelling. Many proprietors are resident, and there is a general advance in every thing beyond any other colony I visited; and I have no apprehension, with so many advantages concurring, but that the free-labour system will succeed in the colony of Barbados."—*Reflections*, pp. 17, 18.

Among "the many concurring advantages" here alluded to, we should have been inclined to reckon, as one of the chief, the peculiar circumstance that in Barbados are situated the trust estates of the Gospel Propagation Society, bequeathed to them so far back as 1710, expressly for the purpose of "maintaining professors and scholars," with the view "of doing good to men's souls;" especially as we find that, so early as 1712, the society sent out a clergyman to Barbados "as chaplain and catechist; under which denominations, besides the ordinary duties of a missionary, he was to instruct in the Christian religion the negroes and their children within the society's plantation in Barbados, and to superintend the sick and maimed negroes and servants;"* and that this the society has continued to do, notwithstanding repeated difficulties, down to the present day; whilst all along a peculiarly mild system of treatment has been adopted towards the negroes, and pains taken in every way to improve their habits, particularly by the encouragement of regular marriage, which first became common, as regards the negroes of Barbados, among those of the Society's estates. We might advert farther to the cottages and cottage grounds held by the Society's labourers, far superior, in many instances, to what is common among the same class even in England, and to which, we venture to say, there is nothing equal in the whole island. We might add, with still greater gratification, the very satisfactory reports which have been received of the conduct of the people since their final emancipation in June, 1838. It is possible indeed that, in private hands and under a more vigorous management, the estates in question might have been made more profitable to the proprietor. It is something, however, that a property of 784 acres should support upon it altogether 465 labourers, 287 tenants and their families, and 84 individuals resident at the college, the school house, or in the manager's family, in all 836 persons, besides yielding to the Society a considerable annual income for the purposes of the trust. There are on the property two chapels, with a clergyman's residence attached to each, besides the college and school house.

* See Appendix to the Bishop of Barbados' Charges (published in 1835), p. 6.

Of the Society's estates it appears that a rather unfavourable impression was somehow or other made on our author's mind :

"Religious education," he observes, "and the Saturday holiday were given up to the slave on this property fifty years ago; yet I could not learn that the Codrington estate is better off at present than its neighbours in the island of Barbados, nor that the negroes have evinced a better result from this good preparation for the change, than those among whom no such ameliorations had been introduced; nor did I find that they worked with more steadiness and fidelity than their neighbours. I write this with some despondency for the future success of the great experiment throughout the West Indies; but I believe it to be principally owing to what I have already stated, namely, that no material benefit is at any time derived from being partially in advance of the general feeling that is entertained on any subject."—*Reflections*, pp. 8, 9.

We confess that we view the matter very differently, particularly when we recur to the cheering account of Barbados, which we have just given from the "*Reflections*:" and we are sure that their excellent author will rejoice to hear that the feeling entertained by those most immediately concerned in the prosperity of the Society's estates, is one of much thankfulness for the happy results which have followed upon their measures of instruction and amelioration, both to their own labourers and to the island generally. For who shall say how far that "general advance in every thing beyond any other colony," which Colonel Cust observed in Barbados, may be attributable, in part at least, to the example set upon the Society's estates? At all events, we should have preferred that on such a subject Sir Edward had scrupulously rejected all "hear-say" evidence, and given us only the result of his own unprejudiced observations. Religion has its enemies in all countries: and it is not every one that would be disposed to do even common justice to an estate avowedly conducted on religious principles, with a public object in view. The very singularity of such a course, other considerations apart, would be enough to expose it to jealousy and distrust.

In reading the "*Reflections*," we naturally turned with much interest to the case of Antigua, which has the reputation of being the most forward of all our West Indian colonies in the race of religious improvement. We were therefore much surprised: observing the tone in which that interesting colony is spoken of.

"Of Barbados I have already spoken. Antigua stands next in importance and civilization; she prepared herself to meet the change from free labour by great exertions; and although I must admit my disappointment at finding her condition, under many advantages, to be little higher than the average of West Indian civilization, yet I think she

may still be enabled to struggle through the crisis, although with some loss to her former prosperity."—*Reflections*, p. 82.

How to account for the picture here given, we scarcely know. It may have been that Sir Edward's opportunities of acquainting himself with Antigua were not of the most favourable description; or it may be that Antigua is at length beginning to feel, in a want of religious unity, and therefore of moral vigour, the evil consequences of encouraging, at least for her black population, self-recommended teachers of Christianity, and those too of an intellectually as well as ecclesiastically low grade, in preference to the regular clergy of the Church.* Of the Moravian fraternity (who, *if* "a portion of the Episcopal Church," are certainly "a most peculiar one," but little resembling its other branches) Sir Edward Cust remarks, and we think most justly, that they "are not calculated for a mature state of civilization."

Of the Methodists he seems to have a still less favourable impression; yet the Methodists and Moravians have met with much encouragement in Antigua, and are more numerous there than elsewhere, though no where perhaps, at the present moment, less needed. But it is not only the Churchman in the West Indies who prefers occasionally to see the negroes of a different persuasion from his own: a similar feeling pervades even Churchmen in England. It has been, and we believe is still, a common practice to make collections in our Churches for the Moravian Missions in the West Indies; as if, forsooth, we had no Church in the colonies, or at least the Church were neglecting her duty, or attending only to the rich, and leaving to Separatists and Dissenters

* A very different view of the case is given in Mr. M. Martin's History of the British Colonies, vol. ii. 364, note, where Mr. Martin observes: "A too rigid adherence to high-Church principles has done much injury to the Establishment, and exhibited the inadequacy of the episcopal system to the religious requirements of the slave population. The abandonment of the West Indies, by the Church Missionary Society, has been of essential disservice: still," &c. Now with all due respect for the Society here mentioned, we are inclined to think that a more "rigid adherence" to Church, if not to "high-Church principles," in the appointment formerly of their agents, and the general direction of their measures, would have been at this moment a great benefit to Antigua. What a blessing, twenty or thirty years ago, might not one or two zealous and consistent clergymen have been in that island, expressly devoted to the Christianizing of the negroes, under the Society's auspices! Such labourers might have continued in the vineyard to this very day, instead of being *withdrawn* as anomalous, (not *driven away*, as Mr. Martin would seem to imply,) and their catechumens, instead of being re-absorbed with their lay teachers, into the general mass of Methodism or Moravianism, when an avowal of principle became necessary, would have been now members of the Church.

We regret that Mr. Martin should have allowed so unguarded a statement to survive the first edition of his work. Assuredly the fault in Antigua has been altogether the other way; and not on the side of high-Church principles, or Church principles at all, high or low.

the care of the poor and ignorant. But what is the real fact? That the labours of the Moravians and Methodists are not a whit more directed to the negroes, nor a whit more of a missionary character, than those of the regular clergyman. Whatever can be done for the benefit of the lately emancipated through the former channel, may be still better done through the latter; so that the effect of the contributions, which some of our brethren are continually sending over from our Church to the Moravian Missions, is not so much to extend Christianity, as to perpetuate Moravianism, and weaken or at best embarrass the Church in the colonies by encouraging those who keep or even withdraw members from her congregations and her schools, to be unnecessarily (at least), if not less effectually, taught elsewhere.

In the colonies sects often meet with encouragement from policy, here from piety;—both, we believe, equally short sighted; both equally without consistent principles of action; both intent upon present, rather than permanent results.

Amidst all these discordant elements both religious and political, in which most of the colonies abound, what then is England's course? shall she increase the confusion of Dissent by extending to it public countenance and support? shall she declare herself to her wide spread dependants a mere neutral in the conflict between truth and error, or equally a favourer of both? shall she pronounce by her public acts, the record of history to be a delusion, and the existence of a holy Catholic Church in the world to be a fiction? shall she abandon her last rallying point for future union and Christian consistency, when the spiritual conceit of the present generation and its rage for novelty shall have in some measure subsided, and men shall begin to reason and inquire once more, and to consult their consciences more than their convenience.

But we are weary of asking what shall England do? And a nearer question still calls for our attention, which is, what with such pressing calls for Christian help throughout our colonies yet such a latitudinarian spirit in the nation around us,—what is the Church to do? or, if even the Church, in her corporate capacity, be as yet restricted from acting as she ought, what should be the course of her faithful sons, with a view to the extension of Christianity still more fully and effectually, in its apostolical soundness, through our wide and various colonies? We live in peculiar times and they require peculiar exertions. For whilst our dangers are great, and especially our ecclesiastical dangers,—whether we look to our country or to its colonies “without are fightings, within are fears;”—yet never perhaps were our opportunities or means of usefulness, as a Christian people, greater than at this moment

and who can say but that this is precisely our trial, and that our honour, our safety, if not our very existence, both as a Church and as a nation, may depend upon our listening to the call of Providence, and using aright the talents committed to us, instead of squandering our wealth in luxurious self-indulgence, or abusing our prosperity, as children do their toys, in wanton experiments on our public blessings?

There may be troubles around us; but there is still a rainbow in the cloud: nor must we forget that the Church has often been most successful, spiritually speaking, in the seasons of affliction, as the torrent is fullest when the weather is foul.

But what is to be done? How are Churchmen to meet the present calls upon their religious sympathy and succour? As to the channel through which their aid is to be extended, the following is the advice given, or we should rather say the appeal made, by Sir Edward Cust in behalf of the West Indies in particular.

“In suddenly raising the negro population to be free agents, before they have been rendered sensible of all the responsibilities of such a condition, the British people have bound themselves by every motive of humanity and justice to assist to render the change a beneficial one to this unfortunate race. Let it not be imagined that this obligation has been cancelled by the payment of the twenty millions for the compensation fund. This was a noble sacrifice, which will ever redound to the honour of the British name; but this sum was paid to the landowners, who are risking double that amount in the success of the mighty experiment—for such it yet must be—and a fearful experiment too. The planters cannot be supposed to have the means of providing anything approaching to an adequate extent of that religion and education, upon which all our hopes of raising the liberated sons of Africa to a state of social civilization must mainly depend. Upon the benevolent and affluent of our countrymen we, whose all is risked in the result, essentially depend for the requisite aid. No channel for the exercise of this liberality is at once so extensively useful, and so safe and certain for advancing this result, as the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.”—*Reflections*, p. 27.

Nor in the existing state of the Church and the present abeyance of the legislative functions, can better advice, we conceive, be given. Sir Edward has in the West Indies seen for himself the happy effects of the assistance received from that invaluable Society. Even were the Church in a position to organize still more formally and authoritatively her great Missionary Society, as the Church in the American States has done, it may be doubted whether its substance would in any material respect be changed. For at present

“the distinguishing mark of the Institution is its close connexion with

the Church of England, and its adherence to her rules of ecclesiastical discipline. The effect of the system is that clergymen, carefully selected for the office of Missionaries, are subject to a discipline, and assured of a protection, not to be exercised on any other plan."—*Report*, p. 80.

There might perhaps, under the circumstances supposed, be more colonial bishops (as, for example, at the Cape of Good Hope), with the addition possibly of bishops of a more missionary character for the least Christianised parts, if not the adoption of some fixed plan of Christian and ecclesiastical colonization, such as that already alluded to as practised by the Romanists in North America. In order farther to provide deacons and presbyters also for the colonial Churches, there might be a general Missionary College instituted, where encouragement, as well as instruction, might be given to young men of proper qualifications to devote themselves to the service; and the conductors of which might make it their business to explain the nature of a clergyman's duties in the different colonies, and to remove the many groundless fears which are often entertained respecting them.

At the least, it is to be hoped, that we should not then behold a numerous and ignorant population left to the safe conduct of Romanism, simply because the island containing them had been conquered from the French or Spaniards, and afforded a convenient refuge for worthless adventurers to retire to and palm themselves upon the deluded multitude as priests, with perhaps no orders at all, or orders which they dared no longer exercise in open day in their native land. At the least, we repeat, every British colony would have one English Church, duly served, in which God might be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and his word faithfully preached, and the sacraments of Christ duly administered. Without being intolerant to those of a different persuasion, or showing the slightest unkindness, we might yet refrain most scrupulously from abetting any of their errors, and give them every opportunity of both knowing and following the truth. Whatever else were done, certainly, under such a state of things as we are now contemplating, the latitudinarian system would receive no quarter. Churchmen would no longer be commended for favouring equally, or equally neglecting, all modes of faith (including their own); nor should we any more have a dispensation for "calling evil good, and good evil; for putting darkness for light, and light for darkness; bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter."

Then as to the funds—the treasury of the Temple—perhaps that too would be more equably and more copiously supplied, especially for missionary purposes, than it is at present: possibly the weekly offertory might be generally restored, and (agreeably

to the practice introduced by Bishop Doane, in America) a fixed portion of it, were it only a tenth, set aside every Sunday for the missionary fund. Such a system, it is true, would be less exciting than that of monthly appeals to the evening missionary meeting, accompanied by the extemporary prayer, the affecting anecdote, or the stirring harangue : and it would probably be less gratifying to individual vanity, to have the great question of missionary operations decided authoritatively by the voice of the Church, instead of being left to the thousand and one devices of private associations, clerical or lay, male or female, ancient or juvenile, all of them in turn assuming to themselves the office, not of bishops only of dioceses in other hemispheres, but almost of apostolical synods legislating for the Church universal. But the question is, not what is the *most taking*, even were it on the whole the most productive, but what is the *best* course, most agreeable to Catholic and apostolic precedent, most in conformity with Holy Scripture, and therefore most likely to be blest of God to the great ends for which the Church was ordained ? What we want is, that we should no longer be wasting our energy in isolated, unconnected, and often conflicting efforts, nor yet that one or two here and there, from among our congregations, should go, and, as an extraordinary act of piety, contribute now and then to some new missionary enterprize, but that *the Church as a body*, every congregation in all our parishes, if not every individual in each congregation, should contribute habitually ("on the first day of the week") according to his ability ("as God hath prospered him") to a common fund for the thorough evangelizing, first of our colonies, and then of the heathen ; that this should be done harmoniously, on one uniform plan, religiously, in the house of God,—regularly, under the direction of our spiritual rulers ; that it should be, strictly speaking, an oblation on God's altar, a solemn act of Christian piety in the "communion of saints," a sacred subsidy, as it were, for "the help of the Lord against the mighty ;" so that we should no longer hear a shallow torrent roaring here and there with all the foaming eloquence of the popular assemblage, now filled by wintry rains, now parched with drought, and at the best rushing forward, not so much to fertilize as to destroy, but behold the missionary bounty and energy of the Church of England fed by more than ten thousand streams, flowing calmly on in one deep but quiet bed, to bear away to distant lands the Church of the living God, freighted, not with the rich produce of our industry, with our literature, or our arms, but with the soldiers of the cross, the word of life, and the treasures of eternity.

Nor would the free-will offerings of the Church interfere, of

necessity, with any liberality of the nation towards the great work in which the latter, as well as the Church, has its own peculiar interest and distinct responsibility. Parliamentary grants might aid the regular oblation. There would be abundant call for both even were parliament to extend its concern from education to religion, from schools to churches, from teachers of rudiments to the heralds of the gospel, and to augment its grants from thousands, we had almost said, to millions. Our wish is not to disparage the support of the state, or to reject its co-operation *when offered on honourable terms*, but simply to see the Church availing herself of her own intrinsic resources, by awakening into action the now almost dormant provision, made in her rubrics for collecting the "oblations," as well as the "alms," of her children. We would abolish neither the "tithe" nor the "half shekel," but would simply restore, in addition to them, the "gifts," which were wont to be cast into the treasury, when the rich came in of their abundance, and even the poor widow of her penury "unto the offerings of God." If such was the practice of the Jewish, how much more should it be of the Christian, Church!

But whether such plans be feasible or not, it is plain that greater exertions must in some way or other be made to increase both the vigour and extent of our missionary proceedings. In particular, the excellent Society for the Propagation of the Gospel calls earnestly for help. Our readers need scarcely be reminded of the strong appeals made in its last interesting Report.

"There are in England about 1,600,000 families in communion with the Church; if each family gave on the average 2s. 6d. a year (which scarcely more than one halfpenny a week), the amount contributed would be 200,000*l.* The rich may be reasonably called upon to give much more liberally of their abundance; but surely there is hardly a single Church family in the country that cannot afford to contribute, though be of their poverty, one penny a week towards the propagation of the gospel in foreign lands."—*Report*, p. xiii.

And how simply, as well as sacredly, might these contributions be made at the weekly offertory!

The Report proceeds to state,

"That 300 additional clergymen are wanted for the colonies—an addition which would entail upon the Society an increased annual expenditure of" [at least] "30,000*l.*; and large as this sum may appear, the preceding calculation will show how easily it might be raised, if each parish in the country would bear its own share of the burden. Nor is there any ground for the apprehension sometimes expressed, that by contributing to foreign and distant objects, either the zeal or the subscriptions of the people for home charities will be diminished. A large experience shows the reverse to be the fact: 'He that watereth shall

watered also himself.' The interest excited for the members of our Communion in foreign lands, will be found to form a new bond between the pastor and his flock: it will kindle the love of the people to their Church, by showing them that it is not a *mere name or abstraction, but a living and spreading Communion*. It will make them value the privilege of Church membership, and thus check the growth of Dissent."—*Report*, p. xiii.

We have ventured to *italicize* a few words in the foregoing extract. Again we quote from the Report:

"The Society commenced their last report by announcing their conviction that a crisis had arrived in the religious affairs of the British colonies, and that the nation would be deeply sinful before God, if they permitted the dependencies of the empire to grow up in wickedness and misery. Under these circumstances the Society resolved to make known as widely as they could, the spiritual destitution of our foreign possessions, and offered to convey the bounty of pious and charitable persons to their perishing fellow-countrymen throughout the world.

"The grand object to set before the eyes of the people is the evangelization of our immense colonies, and, through them, of the whole world. Every one should be invited to contribute his share to this great work; and it is confidently believed that whatever labour any clergyman may take in the establishing of an association, and in superintending and directing its machinery, will not only prove a blessing to the ends of the earth, but will also return abundantly into his own parish and his own bosom."—*Report*, pp. xiii. xv.

Once more:—

"The people of England become daily more and more sensible to the spiritual destitution of our immense colonial empire. They are beginning to understand that the question is not whether they shall encourage a great missionary institution, but whether the Church of England, and Christianity itself, shall be maintained and extended throughout the foreign possessions of the crown. The Society humbly hope that they may be made instrumental in the performance of this great work. Under the guidance and control of the archbishops and bishops, they invite their brethren to give them the hand of fellowship, and to act as parts of one great whole, whose end and object shall be the promoting of the gracious purposes of Almighty God, the gathering together in one all things in Christ."—*Report*, p. 76.

Surely to such a call, sanctioned by the archbishops and bishops of our Church, the people of England, the people of the *Church* at least, will not turn a deaf ear. We shall no longer be content to behold our great Missionary Society with an income of some thirty or forty thousand pounds at the most; which is as nothing to the work for which it is intended, or to the wealth of this great country. As we look over the lists of the Society's supporters

in the different dioceses, we are persuaded that in many cases this subject requires only to be brought by the clergy under the notice of numbers whose names we miss, and who stand aloof, we are assured, chiefly through ignorance of what the Society is really doing, or at best from a forgetfulness of its claims and of their own personal responsibility in the cause of missions, as members of a Church so favoured and so placed as the Church of England is, in being a pure and Apostolic branch of the Church Catholic in being the wealthiest branch of it which has ever existed, and in being set in the heart of a colonial empire of unparalleled extent.

Men do not light a candle to put it under a bushel, nor do they put it on a candlestick, excepting to give light to those that are in the house. If the Church of England has been placed in so conspicuous a situation, surely her duty is to give light, if not to the world generally, at least throughout the British Empire. "Arise shine," is the command addressed to the Church, when blest herself with the light of truth. "Freely ye have received; freely give." How great are England's privileges! but if so, how great is her responsibility! How great too is the destiny which she is summoned to fulfil, if at least to her it be granted to promote the accomplishment of those bright predictions, to which we alluded at the outset, by bringing the Gentiles more and more to the light of the Church, and their kings to the brightness of her rising. There seems indeed in the circumstances of Britain something peculiar in regard to the prophecies in question.* Not only does she enjoy, in a peculiar measure, the light of Christianity; but from her territory and commerce, her intercourse with the whole world is beyond all example. She has dealings with all the nations; the abundance of the sea is open before her; her's are the ships of Tarshish; and, in one sense, her gates are open continually; for on her congregations, extending nearly round the whole globe, the sun never sets, so that her houses of prayer are not shut day nor night.

Were such possessions and such power and such opportunities given to mortal man merely for his own pride or pleasure or caprice? Or were they meant to make Britain, to make her Church at least, as a highly favoured branch of the holy Church Catholic a blessing to the world through ages yet unborn, an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations?

With a view to so great and glorious a consummation, it is no of course for us to say what part our spiritual rulers should take either as to our religious charities generally, or particularly with reference to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for the

* Isa. lx.

purpose of recognizing it still more formally, and connecting its proceedings yet more closely with the constitution of the Church. Something of the kind has indeed been already done in the case of the kindred society for the national education of the poor: and there is evidently a yearning on the part of members of the Church, both clerical and lay, for greater unity, as well as a fuller conformity to Church principles, and a consequently greater efficiency, in our associations for the furtherance of religion.* In the words of the Report "*a crisis has arrived*," and noble opportunities do certainly present themselves, when something must be done not merely to extend but to harmonize, and concentrate, and to regulate our "labours of love," to connect them more one with another, to place them upon a proper ecclesiastical basis, and to bring them all more directly under the collective wisdom and authority of our bishops. Nor is the time, we trust, far off, when the resumption, so far at least, of their deliberative functions, in such way as to their own judgment shall seem best, shall again stimulate, consolidate, and direct the pious zeal of their flocks. Meanwhile let the laity and subordinate clergy show themselves forward in the good work, yet solicitous to avoid all irregular courses: let them stand aloof from temporising or sectarian measures; let them shun division; let them seek more and more the countenance and counsel of their bishops:—in short, let them make it their study and their prayer to unite in one well-digested and energetic, in one truly Catholic and Apostolic system, the multifarious efforts which are made for extending Christianity or increasing its efficiency, whether at home or abroad.†

* See particularly the "Second Report of the Windsor and Eton Church Union Society," published in November last.

† Since this Article was written, some progress has been made, though we much fear not in the best way, towards carrying into effect some of the objects which it advocates.

ART. II.—*The Life and Pontificate of Gregory the Seventh.*
By John William Bowden, M.A. 2 vols. London: Rivingtons. 1840.

PERHAPS the greatest of the wants under which our religious literature labours at this day is that of an ecclesiastical history. It is inconvenient enough to have no good commentary on Scripture, and so little of systematic theology; but the Creed tells us the principal points of doctrine, and Scripture is to the pious mind, in some sense, its own interpreter. But the providences of God towards his Church during eighteen centuries, though contained in outline in prophecy, are consigned to no formula or document, clear enough to convey its own meaning, and minute enough to impress its peculiarities upon the private Christian. Not even the wildest advocate for the right of private judgment ever professed to apprehend past facts, as he might think he discovered revealed doctrines, without the assistance of books or teachers. Rather such an one will commonly be found to depreciate, instead of pretending to historical knowledge: he will apply the Caliph Omar's argument to the events of 1800 years, and say that except for the first and three last centuries they are not to be studied at all, as being little or nothing better than the times of predicted evil. He shuts up God's dealings with his Church under a formula, and is contented with symbols which neither he nor any one else can put into plain English.

It is difficult justly to estimate the injury done to our whole view of gospel truth by our ignorance of ecclesiastical history. Every department of divinity acts upon the rest, and if one is neglected, the others suffer. Our view of doctrine affects our view of history, and our view of history our view of doctrine; and our view of doctrine the sense we put upon Scripture; and our interpretation of Scripture our ethics, and our ethics our interpretation of Scripture. And, moreover, the history of the past ends in the present, and the present is our scene of trial; and to behave ourselves towards its various phenomena duly and religiously, we must understand them; and to understand them, we must have recourse to those past events which led to them. Thus the present is a text, and the past its interpretation. To a child there is no difference between one fact and another in the religious world. He does not understand their mutual relations or their respective bearings. He has, when an infant in arms, learned to classify and dispose of objects of sense; he knows that the church spirit is not so near him as his nose or his hand, and that leaves are parts of the tree, and not of the sky or the earth, with which they are contemporaneous. But he cannot learn without the assistance of

others the meaning of moral facts; and, as things are, he commonly grows up, and lives and dies as ignorant of those of an ecclesiastical character as he was when he first had the faculty of thought. "What is the difference between a Methodist and a Roman Catholic?" and "why are we not all Quakers?" are the questions which a thoughtful child of five years old may ask; and it is not at all clear whether he is likely to have taken any real steps towards the solution of them by the time he is fifty. This of course is witnessed in the case of political and social facts quite as much as in ecclesiastical. What a different meaning, for instance, has the so-called "Catholic Relief Bill," or the Reform Bill, to men of twenty and of thirty! How differently has the character of the Duke of Wellington come out to the present generation since the publication of his dispatches! How differently appear our present relations with Russia to those who know and those who are ignorant of the history of the last century! Men enter into life, and take what they find there, and put their own interpretation upon it, if their imaginations are not pre-occupied with the one true historical comment. This is why there is such difficulty in rousing the public mind to understand the importance of certain measures, proposed or resisted: to the public they are facts without meaning. What virtue is there in a name to those who are dead to it? Why should not Brutus stir a spirit as soon as Cæsar? It is the association which is every thing; but to those who know not the true history of that to which the name belongs, there are no associations with it, or wrong ones.

The case is the same as regards persons. Take a given orator and he shall make a speech, or author and he shall write a pamphlet, or preacher and he shall deliver a sermon; and then let it be considered how differently the speech, or the pamphlet, or the sermon, in each case seems to persons who know him well and those who do not. Very different, for good and for bad; let him be a man of pomp and parade, or of smoothness and artifice, and strangers will be taken in, and admire the very words, turns of speech and gestures, which make those who know him only cry out, "How like so-and-so!" On the other hand, the deep feeling and reality of another sort of person go clean over the heads of those who do not know him, while friends are pierced by every word. Let the very same speech or sentiment come from two persons, and it has quite a different meaning, according to the speaker, and takes a different form in our minds. We always judge of what meets us by what we know already. There is no such thing in nature as a naked text without note or comment.

It is a curious fact, that these remarks even apply to the case of personal appearance, as is sometimes proved by the test of portraits. Let a likeness, taken twenty years ago, be put before two persons, one of whom knew the subject of it at the time, and the other did not, and the latter perhaps will think it unsuccessful, and the former successful. We colour our ocular vision with the hues of the imagination: as reason is said to deceive our eye in the phenomenon of the horizontal moon, so memory is a glow upon them here. Our friend has grown fat, or his temples are higher, or his face is broader, or lines have come to view along his cheek or across his forehead, and yet in certain cases we shall be heard to say, that such a one has not altered at all since the day we first knew him. To us his youth is stamped upon his maturity, and he lives in our eye, as well as in our mind, as when we first gave him our affection. We are surprised on going into the world to hear him called a middle-aged man.

In such a case, to be sure, we have an instance of an abuse of the important instrument which has been above insisted on. But we adduce it to prove the extent of the influence which the knowledge of the past has on the present;—that it may become excessive and out of place; that we may become mere antiquarians and pedants; that we may bury ourselves in the illusions of history when we should contemplate things as they are before us, very certain: but the danger at this day rather is, lest, from total ignorance of history, we should be obliged to determine every action and every principle by the only test which will practically be left us, the test of visible expediency. And late ecclesiastical occurrences supply some melancholy instances in point. There will be the certain consequence of treating history as an old almanac, whatever persons of some station in the Church may say to the contrary.

And again, it must be recollected that men will form theories and write books on religious subjects, whether or not they have the facts which alone can enable them to do so justly. To assign causes, to draw out relations, is natural to man; and he will do so on a theory rather than not at all. A number of answers can be given to the question, What is the Church? We are far from saying that in so complicated a question *only* one, or perhaps *that* any *one*, is right and true; but whatever is right, whatever wrong, surely we must go to history for the information. If we are content to look round, catch up certain peculiarities which meet our eye, listen to what is said in parliament or the newspapers, or in some fashionable chapel, and then proceed to form our theory, we shall probably approach about as near the truth as the Oriental who defined the English as a nation who live on the sea, and make

pen-knives. This is a remark which applies in a measure even to writers of a deeper tone of thought: we are just now becoming rich in treatises on ecclesiastical politics and doctrine: let us take good care that our views do not get ahead of our knowledge.

We have now given some of the reasons why we are especially obliged to Mr. Bowden for a work like that which is now before us. No one can write without opinions: we are far from saying that Mr. Bowden has not his own, and that very decidedly; but he has drawn out the facts of a most momentous and wonderful period of history with great distinctness and perspicuity, and we are sure that no one will rise from the perusal of his volumes without grateful feelings to their author for the information and instruction he has provided. We do not intend to make this article a panegyric on Mr. Bowden; but to convey to the reader by means of it some account of his subjects. Yet, before proceeding to business, it is but justice to him to say, that he has given us at once a very earned and a very well arranged history. To have read the original sources diligently and to report them accurately is one great praise; but a far more difficult task is the combination and adjustment of materials. To bring out the course of events so that a reader may go away with a definite impression upon his mind of what has passed through it, is a very difficult art. We are not perhaps quite satisfied with Mr. Bowden's style; but we eulogize his composition. He is a very neat and skilful artist, a clear and forcible narrator, makes a great many points, and every one of them tells.

But now let us proceed to his work itself. It is the history of the commencement of that great reformation of the Church in the middle ages, which Providence conducted through the instrumentality partly divine, partly human, of the Papal monarchy. It is usual to call the times in which it occurred the dark ages, but properly speaking that title applies to the centuries which preceded it. No exaggeration is possible of the demoralized state into which the Christian world, and especially the Church of Rome, had fallen in the years that followed the extinction of the Carlovingian line. The tenth century is even known among Protestants *par excellence* as the *sæculum obscurum*, and Baronius expresses its portentous corruption in the vivid remark, that Christ was as if asleep in the vessel of the Church. "The infamies prevalent among the clergy of the time," says Mr. Bowden, "as denounced by Damiani and others, are to be alluded to, not detailed."—Vol. i. p. 144. When Hilander was appointed to the monastery of St. Paul, he found the offices of devotion systematically neglected, the house of prayer defiled by the sheep and cattle who found their way in and out through its broken doors, and the monks, contrary to all monastic

rule, attended in their refectory by women. The excuse for the irregularities was the destitution to which the holy house was reduced by the predatory bands of Campagna; but when the monastic bodies were rich, as was the case in Germany, matters were worse instead of better. Unworthy brethren of the conventual order. Mr. Bowden tells us, incessantly beset the ears of princes and great people, who had the presentation to abbeys and benefices, proffering sums so large in purchase that secular competitors were excluded. The world wondered, says an historian of the times, himself a monk, from what springs such rivers of wealth could flow; and understood not how the riches of Cræsus or Tantalus could be amassed by men who had taken on them the scandal of the Cross and the profession of poverty. In Lombardy, the Archbishop Guido in the eleventh century was said to have invariably demanded a price for the favour of admission into holy orders; his clergy were in their own way as deeply involved in the guilt of simony as himself, till the very flocks learned to treat them with open manifestations of contempt, reviled them in the house of God itself, and hooted them along the streets. When Hildebrand went as legate into France, he first brought to confession an archbishop who had contrived to bribe to silence the principal evidences against him of simony; and upon his deposition, no less than forty-five bishops and twenty-seven other dignitaries or governors of churches came forward to confess the guilty mode by which they had obtained their benefices, and retired from stations which they had no valid claim to retain. Even two centuries earlier than this, when, as appears on the face of the facts, the corruption was not so general, a council of Paris had complained that many of the clergy were so occupied in the pursuit of gain and other worldly avocations, that they suffered many infants to die without baptism. A council of Aix-la-Chapelle of the same date prohibits extortion and intemperance in bishops, and protests against their non-residence. A synod of Pavia a little later prohibits the clergy the practice of sumptuous banquets and the use of dogs and hawks. Hincmar judged it expedient to issue a decree against the pawning by the clergy of the vestments and the communion plate. In the times of St. Romuald, who died in 1027, the practice of emperors selling bishoprics, bishops their preferments, and laymen their benefices, was so recognized and ordinary, that when the saint had spoken even to religious persons of simony as a sin, he seemed to them to inculcate overstrained and fanciful notions. Adelbert Archbishop of Bremen, himself a man of pure life and austere practices in an age of general dissoluteness, conceived a plan, by means of the imperial influence which he enjoyed, of making Hamburg the seat of his power and establishing a sort of papacy in the North. With this purpose in view he as

tempted to grasp at every method of increasing his revenues, and disgraced his rule by a wide spread system of corruption and plunder. Associating himself with a profligate favourite of the Emperor, he despoiled without shame the lands and revenues of the less powerful religious communities, and put up to sale every office, civil or ecclesiastical, which fell to his disposal. If such were the practices of men who were stricter than their brethren, what was to be expected of the multitude of ecclesiastics, who were involved in sensuality, or at least in carnal indulgence and sloth? Mr. Bowden shall inform by a scene which took place during the minority of the Emperor Henry the Fourth. At the point at which we take up his narrative he is speaking of the bishops of Germany.

“Their rapacity exhibited itself in the shameless way in which they, as if in emulation of each other, extorted from the crown the grant of lands, manors, farms and forests, to the manifest diminution of the royal dignity; as well as in the unjust annexation of the property of religious communities, which were unable to resist them, to the territory of their sees. Nor in pride, or in the fierceness with which they resisted all real or imagined insults, inconsistent as such qualities are with the sacerdotal character, were the spiritual fathers of Germany a whit inferior to the imperious secular nobles with whom they associated. At the commencement of vespers before the king and court at Goslar, at the solemn season of Christmas, 1062, a dispute arose between the servants of the Bishop of Hildesheim and those of the Abbot of Fulda, with regard to the position of the seats of their respective masters. The abbot, by ancient usage, was entitled to sit next to the metropolitan; but the bishop, indignant that any should take this place, within his own diocese, in preference to himself, had commanded his domestics to place the chairs accordingly. The dispute soon led to blows, and but for the interference of Otho of Bavaria, would have terminated in bloodshed. This noble asserted the rights of the abbot, and the bishop was consequently foiled. He looked forward however to a renewal of the contest under more favourable auspices; and at the feast of Pentecost following, previously to the entrance of the king and the prelates into the Church, he secreted behind the high altar Count Ecbert and some well armed soldiers. As the contending prelates proceed to their seats, the affray between the servants began again; when the count, suddenly springing from his ambush, rushed with his followers upon the astonished men of Fulda, and drove them with blows and menaces from the Church. But they too had made preparations for a violent struggle, and had friends and arms at hand. In a body they rushed once more into the sacred building, and engaged their enemies with swords in the midst of the choir, confusedly mingled with the choristers. Fiercely was the combat waged: ‘throughout the Church,’ says Lambert of Aschaffenburg, ‘resounded instead of hymns and spiritual songs, the shouts of the combatants and the screams of the dying; ill-omened victims were slaughtered upon the altar of God; while through the building ran rivers of blood, poured forth, not by the legal religion

of other days, but by the mutual cruelty of enemies.' The bishop of Hildesheim, rushing to a pulpit or some other conspicuous position, exhorted his followers, according to the same writer, as with the sound of a trumpet, to perseverance in the fray, and encouraged them by his authority, and by the promise of absolution, to disregard the sanctity of the place. The young monarch called in vain on his subjects to reverence his royal dignity; all ears were deaf to his vociferated commands and entreaties; and, at length, urged by those around him to consult his own safety, he escaped with difficulty from the thickening tumult, and made his way to his palace. The men of Fulda, by the efforts of Count Ecbert, were at length repulsed, and the doors of the Church closed against them; upon which, ranging themselves before the building, they prepared to assail their enemies again as soon as they should issue from it; and there remained until the approach of night induced them to retire.—Vol. i. 235, 237.

Miserable as are the above specimens of those truly "dark ages," yet they are decency itself compared with the atrocities which in the same era disgraced the see of Rome. At the close of the ninth century, Stephen VI. dragged the body of an obnoxious predecessor from the grave, and after subjecting it to a mock trial, cut off its head and three fingers, and threw it into the Tiber. He was subsequently deposed, and strangled in prison. In the years that followed, the power of electing to the popedom fell into the hands of the intriguing and licentious Theodora, and her equally unprincipled daughters, Theodora and Marozia. These women, members of a patrician family, by their arts and beauty, obtained an unbounded influence over the aristocratic tyrants of the city. One of the Theodoras appointed a lover, and Marozia a son, to the holy see. The grandson of the latter Octavian, succeeding to her power, as well as to the civil government of the city, elevated himself, on the death of the then Pope to the apostolic chair, at the age of eighteen, under the title of John XII. His career was in keeping with such a commencement. "'The Lateran palace," says Mr. Bowden, "was disgraced by becoming a receptacle for courtezans: and decent females were terrified from pilgrimages to the threshold of the apostle by the reports which were spread abroad of the lawless impurity and violence of their representative and successor."—vol. i. p. 83 At length he was carried off by a rapid illness, or by the consequences of a blow received in the prosecution of his intrigues Boniface VII., in the space of a few weeks after his elevation plundered the treasury and basilica of St. Peter of all he could conveniently carry off, and fled to Constantinople. John XVIII expressed his readiness, in consideration of a sum of money from the Emperor Basil, to recognize the right of the Greek Patriarch to the title of ecumenical or universal bishop, and the consequent

degradation of his own see; and was only prevented by the general indignation excited by the report of his intention. Benedict IX. was consecrated Pope, according to some authorities at the age of ten or twelve years, and became notorious for adulteries and murders. At length he resolved on marrying his first cousin; and when her father would not assent except on the condition of his resigning the popedom, he sold it for a large sum and consecrated the purchaser as his successor.

Such are a few of the most prominent features of the ecclesiastical history of these dreary times, when, in the words of St. Bruno, "the world lay in wickedness, holiness had disappeared, justice had perished, and truth had been buried; Simon Magus lording it over the Church, whose bishops and priests were given to luxury and fornication." The external causes of this woeful corruption were, as we have already noticed, two; secular abundance and secular destitution. Never was instanced more forcibly the meaning of the divine petition, "Give me neither riches nor poverty." As regards the Roman see, its humiliations were the result of secular violence. If, as was not an uncommon idea in the middle ages, Antichrist was, according to the word of prophecy, to seat himself by force in the high throne of the Apostle, to the overthrow of its rightful occupant, surely we may well recognize in the mock-popes and anti-popes of that period the types of the fulfilment. The imperial power, begun in Charlemagne, becoming extinct, Rome became the prey of the lawless and licentious nobles of the neighbouring Campagna. The pontifical elections were brought completely under their control, and it was by their creatures, violently introduced, that the holy see was subjected to the defilements which we have been describing. In France and Germany, on the other hand, the corruption was far more the direct sin of the Church, which had become secularized by the power and wealth with which the system of Charlemagne had burdened it; and thus, the continuance of that system led to the same results in the north which its extinction occasioned in the south. But on this subject let us hear Mr. Bowden:

"The Church in the transalpine dominions of Charlemagne, bore a character materially modified by the rudeness of her semi-barbarous members; and the efforts of that monarch, exerted toward her refinement, promoted at the same time her secularization. His own idea of her nature and essence seems to have been influenced by the impressions natural to a temporal and military monarch. The pope, as we have seen, he treated in several acts of government as his official adviser or chancellor; and his bishops, whom he endowed with ample territories, became his barons,—his counsellors and ministers at home, and the governors of his provinces abroad. Their positions in the new bishoprics

partook, indeed, in some measure of the military character, as it was to them that the sovereign looked to repress the rebellions of his recently acquired subjects, as well as to resist the incursions of barbarous hordes from the wastes beyond the limits of his territory. And even those prelates, who had been fixed in stations apparently less likely to bring them into immediate contact with military operations, became, soon after the great monarch's death, of necessity involved in the general movement, military as well as civil, which ensued from the interminable feuds of his degenerate descendants. The spiritual dignitaries, therefore, of the whole Carolingian empire were placed in a false and unecclesiastical position: and this circumstance, viewed in connection with the general rudeness of their age, and with the gross views and habits natural to nations just reclaimed, and that in the mass from idolatry, will in great measure enable us to understand the deplorable account given of the Western Church in the ninth century by the writers of the time.

. "This diversion, so to call it, of the episcopate from its original destination, brought about, as a matter of course, the introduction into the episcopal body of persons by no means qualified for sacerdotal pre-eminence. In theory, the right of election to vacant bishoprics was recognized by Charlemagne and his descendants as existing, according to ancient and canonical practice, in the clergy and people of the diocese. But the founder of the Carolingian dynasty was on several occasions induced, either by peculiar circumstances, or by the ambition and intrigues of those about him, to exercise a more than merely influential or confirmatory authority on such occasions. Whatever, indeed, might have been thought of the Christian liberty of the Church in the selection of her spiritual pastors, the sovereign had unquestionably a plausible right to dictate in the nomination of those to whom he was to look for the maintenance of order, the administration of justice, and the collection of revenue, in the different districts of his empire. The transfer of elective power from the hands of the Church herself to those of the temporal sovereign, may be regarded as a natural and necessary accompaniment to the process of her internal secularization."—vol. i. p. 42—46.

Mr. Bowden's able sketch is too long to quote entire, but we must gratify ourselves with another portion of it on the same subject:

"No sooner, indeed, had the munificence of Charlemagne rendered offices in the Church objects of eager desire to the worldly and the covetous, than the crime which, from the unhappy man who first attempted to purchase the gifts of the Holy Spirit, has received the appellation of simony, began to spread through the western empire to a fearful extent; and it became customary to purchase with gold, as well admittance into every rank of the sacred ministry, as the pastoral mission implied in the appointment to stations of ecclesiastical superintendence and responsibility. As early as 829, the prelates assembled in council at Paris found it necessary to urge Louis the Debonair to use all his influence in extirpating 'this heresy so detestable, this pest so hateful to God,' from the Roman Church. The synod of Meaux, in 845, renewed the warning. And Leo IV., in or about 847, denounced it in an epistle

to the Bishops of Brittany as a crime condemned by many councils. But it was difficult to impress the enormity of the practice upon an age which had become accustomed to see not only ecclesiastical offices, but holy orders themselves, bestowed on grounds the most frivolous or unworthy. The nobles, in those times, continually procured the ordination of their younger sons or relatives, for the sole purpose of qualifying them for the acceptance of lucrative benefices ; giving them, while they did so, the same military training and secular habits with the rest of the family. Others procured the admission to the priesthood of dependants whom they intended to retain in subordinate stations in their household. 'Such,' says the high-principled Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons in the time of Louis the Debonair, 'is the disgrace of our times, a disgrace to be deplored with the whole fountain of our tears, that there is scarcely one to be found who aspires to any degree of honour or temporal distinction who has not his domestic priest ; and this, not that he may obey him, but that he may command his obedience alike in things lawful and things unlawful ; in things human and things divine ; so that these chaplains are constantly to be found serving the tables, mixing the strained wine, leading out the dogs, managing the ladies' horses, or looking after the lands.' And because it was of course impossible, however they might have heard it, to obtain, for stations so degrading, respectable members of the sacerdotal body ; 'for what good clergyman,' continues the indignant prelate just quoted, 'could bear to defile his character and life with men like these?' they selected, without the slightest reference either to knowledge or principle, those whom they thought likely to perform most satisfactorily the various domestic offices above enumerated, and then called on Agobard himself, or his brother prelates, to admit, as a matter of course, the 'clerkklings,' as they contemptuously styled them, to holy orders ; a request with which the regulations of the empire, though no human enactments could in truth be binding in such a matter, compelled the insulted bishops to comply."—vol. i. p. 48.

Had we lived in such deplorable times as have been above described, when Satan seemed to have been let loose at the end of his thousand years, and had we been blessed with any portion of divine light to understand, and of love to desire better things, we might have asked whether it was conceivable that the Church should ever recover itself from the abyss into which it was sunk. Where was the motive principle—where the fulcrum, by which it was to be righted? What was left but for matters to become worse and worse, till the last ray of truth and righteousness died away, and the last saint was gathered in, and the end of all things came, and the Judge with it? One thing we should have felt for certain, that if it was possible to retrieve the Church, it must be by some external power ; she was helpless and resourceless ; and the civil power must interfere, or there was no hope. So thought the young and zealous emperor, Henry III., who, though un-

happily far from a perfect character, yet deeply felt the shame to which the Immaculate Bride was exposed, and determined with his own right hand to work her deliverance. In one respect, indeed, he was plainly unequal for so high a mission, had he had other credentials of it; he who was not possessed of the grace of personal purity, could not hope to remove the more flagrant scandals with which the clergy of the day were laden; but this good thing had he, that amid all his ecclesiastical prerogatives and professions, he had in no single instance incurred the guilt of simony; he had the most awful impression and the most acute feelings of its heinousness; and thus, if he could not animadvert upon one of the two chief sins of the day, he might aspire to be a censor of the other. And so much is undeniable, that, though he cannot be considered as regularly called to the work, and though a movement had already begun, as we shall presently see, in the Church itself, which, humanly speaking, would have done it without him, yet in matter of fact, this well-meaning and interesting prince did begin that reformation which ended in the purification and monarchical estate of the Church.

He thus dealt with the bishops of his own country:—

“Summoning around him, during the summer of 1047, the prelates of his country, he thus spoke:—‘It is with sorrow that I address you, ye that stand in Christ’s stead over the Church which He purchased with His blood. For, as it was out of the free grace of God the Father, that He was given unto us, and born of the Blessed Virgin, so did he enjoin His Apostles, “Freely ye have been received, freely give.” But ye, corrupted by avarice, are under a curse, because ye give and take in barter for the holy treasures which ye dispense: and even my father, for whose soul I am most anxious, was in his lifetime too much led away by this accursed covetousness. He, among you, who feels himself sullied by this sin, should—according to the letter of the canon—should be forthwith deprived of the ecclesiastical office,—whatever it be,—which he may hold. For this—this is the fearful sin,—sin which brings down judicial calamities upon our suffering people: this it is which Heaven scourges among us by famine, by epidemic diseases, and by the sword.’

“The prelates around him, too generally conscious of a participation in the guilt which he denounced, shrunk within themselves; and, aware as well of his determination of character, as of his plenitude of power, trembled for the issue. Great therefore was their relief, however overpowering their shame, when, in answer to their acknowledgment of guilt, and supplication for clemency, the monarch thus continued:—‘Go hence, employ that well which you have ill obtained; and forget not, in your prayers, to implore mercy for the soul of my father, as of one involved in like criminality with yourselves.’ He then dismissed them, demanding, previously to their departure, their assent to a decree, which enacted that no office or station in the Church should thenceforth be made the subject of purchase or sale, and that whosoever

should attempt the practice of such nefarious traffic, should be deprived of any office which he might have attained, and be visited with the anathema of the Church. While, with regard to his own future conduct, the emperor, in the presence of the council, solemnly pledged himself as follows :—‘ As God has freely, of his mere mercy, bestowed upon me the crown of the empire, so will I give freely and without price all things that pertain unto His religion.’ ”—Vol. i. pp. 131, 132.

But he was aware that the work of reform, to be thoroughly executed, must proceed from Rome, as the centre of the ecclesiastical state, and he determined, upon those imperial precedents and feudal principles which we have already brought before the reader, to appoint a pope, who should be the instrument of his general reformation. The reigning pope at this time was Gregory VI., and he introduces us to so curious a history that we shall devote some sentences to it. Gregory was the identical personage who had bought the papal office of the profligate Benedict IX. for a large sum, and was consecrated by him, and yet he was far from a bad sort of man after all. As to his traffic in holy things, he seems to have viewed it in the light of the worthy persons in our own days whose advertisements concerning the sale or purchase of advowsons or presentations figure in the newspapers; and he really does seem to have committed his act of simony with the very best intentions, which he did in fact fulfil, so far as his bargain was made good to him. He had been known in the world as John Gratianus; and at the time of his promotion was arch-priest of Rome. “ He was considered,” says Mr. Bowden, “ in those bad times more than ordinarily religious; he had lived free from the gross vices by which the clergy were too generally disgraced.” He is described as “ *idiota et miræ simplicitatis*,” and what perhaps is included in this account of him, he was unlettered. He could not be quite said to have come into possession of his purchase; for Benedict, his predecessor, being disappointed in his intended bride, returned to Rome after an absence of three months, and resumed his pontifical station, while the party of his intended father-in-law had had sufficient influence to create a pope of their own, John, Bishop of Sabina, who paid a high price for his elevation, and took the title of Sylvester III. And thus there were three self-styled popes at once in the Holy City, Benedict performing his sacred functions at the Lateran, Gregory at St. Peter’s, and Sylvester at Santa Maria Maggiore. Gregory, however, after a time, seemed to preponderate over his antagonists; he maintained a body of troops, and with these he suppressed the suburban robbers, who hindered the pilgrims’ approach to Rome, and placed himself at their head. Expelling them from the sacred limits of St. Peter’s,

he carried his arms further till he had cleared the neighbouring towns and roads of these marauders. On an outcry being raised, at the unclerical character of such performances, brilliant as they were, he associated with him Lorenzo, Archbishop of Amalphi, who was an exile at Rome, as his coadjutor, and, while the latter understood the direct duties of the papal office and government, he devoted himself to that police department in which he seemed so much to excel.

This was the point of time at which the Imperial Reformer made his visitation of the Church of the Apostles. He came into Italy in the autumn of 1046, and held a Council at Sutri, a town about thirty miles to the north of Rome. Gregory was allowed to preside; and, when under his auspices the abdication of Benedict had been recorded, and Sylvester had been stripped of his sacerdotal rank and shut up in a monastery for the rest of his life, Gregory's own turn came, and, as there was no one competent to judge the highest ecclesiastical authority upon earth, as he was admitted really to be, the following device was taken to get rid of him.—

“His (Henry's) bishops, the cases of Gregory's rivals having been disposed of, requested the pontiff to state, for their information, the circumstances of his own election to the papal office; and when they had thus drawn from him an admission of the unholy traffic by which that transaction had been accomplished, they brought before him the impropriety of his conduct in a manner so glaring, that the confounded pontiff at length exclaimed, ‘I call God to witness that, in doing what I did, I hoped to obtain the forgiveness of my sins and the grace of God. But now that I see the snare into which the enemy has entrapped me, tell me what I must do?’ The bishops having thus obtained their point, replied, ‘Judge thyself—condemn thyself with thine own mouth—better will it be for thee to live, like the holy Peter, poor in this world and to be blest in another, than like the magician Simon, whose example misled thee, to shine in riches here, and to receive hereafter the sentence of condemnation.’ And the penitent Gregory, in obedience to the suggestion, spoke as follows:—‘I, Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, pronounce that, on account of the shameful trafficking, the heretical simony which took place at my election, I am deprived of the Roman see. Do you agree,’ he concluded, ‘to this.’ ‘We acquiesce,’ was the reply, ‘in your decision;’ and the ex-Pope at once divested himself of the insignia of pontifical authority.”—Vol. i. p. 119.

The new Pope whom the emperor gave to the Church instead of Gregory VI., Clement II., a man of excellent character, died within the year. Damasus II., who was his second nomination, died in three or four weeks after his formal assumption of his pontifical duties. Bruno, Bishop of Toul, was his third choice; he was a relation of Henry's, mild and unambitious in character,

fervent in his devotion, courteous and popular in his manners, and possessed, if not of commanding talents, of considerable energy and activity of mind. He was far from desiring his elevation; when the proposal was first made to him, he requested three days to consider of it, at the end of which he made a confession of his faults before the assembled council, with the hope of gaining their permission to decline it. But they overruled his objections, and he found himself compelled on the spot to assume the style and honours of a pontiff. Such was the person, and such the manner of his advancement, who is now known as St. Leo, the ninth of that name.

And now we are arrived at the period when the state reformer struck his foot against the hidden rock, and found to his surprise that in that apparently disorganized and lifeless frame, which he was attempting to new-make, there was a soul and a power of self-action adequate both to its recovery and its resistance against foreign interference. He had chosen a Pope, but *quis custodiat ipsos custodes?* What was to keep fast that Pope in that very view of the relation of the state to the Church, which he took himself? What is to secure the Pope from some Hildebrand at his elbow, who, a young man himself, shall rehearse, in the person of his superior, that part which he is one day to play in his own, as Gregory VII.? Such was the very fact; Hildebrand was with Leo, and thus commences the ecclesiastical career of that wonderful man, to whose history Mr. Bowden has devoted his reading. Hildebrand was at this time from thirty to forty years of age, having been born between 1010 and 1020; his birth-place as it is supposed, Soana, in Tuscany; his father a carpenter. He had been soon removed from home to the care of an uncle, the Abbot of St. Mary's on the Aventine, who is supposed to be the same with that Laurence, Archbishop of Amalfi, whose enforcement of ecclesiastical power had led to his banishment from his diocese by Guaimar, prince of the city. Such a man was a happy master for the young champion of the Church; and under his auspices Hildebrand had rapidly acquired a knowledge of the seven liberal sciences, while he exhibited from his earliest years the rudiments of that devotional temperament, which in after life so strikingly characterised him. He was, says one of his annalists, a monk from his boyhood; his life, from its very commencement, was one of abstinence, mortification, and self-command.

Arrived at man's estate he had undertaken a journey across the Alps, and resided for some time in the celebrated monastery of Cluni in Burgundy, the strictness of which formed an acceptable contrast, in the eyes of our austere youth, with the laxity of manners which prevailed at Rome. The Abbot Odilo, himself an

eminent saint, was equally pleased with Hildebrand, applying to him prophetically the announcement used by the angel concerning the commissioned Reformer of the first advent, "He shall be great in the sight of the Lord." On his return to Rome, disgusted with the prevalent corruptions, he would have quitted the city again and for good, but was fixed in a resolution to stay after an occurrence not unlike, in character and termination, if we may compare together such opposite stations as those of a Pope and a lord mayor, the "turn-again" passage in the history of Whittington. He afterwards served under the unfortunate Gregory VI., a fit leader of such as Hildebrand, so far as his object in securing the papacy to himself was that of claiming for the Roman clergy and people the free election of their spiritual pastor. On Gregory's downfall Hildebrand was carried by Henry across the Alps with his patron, and thus he was at hand when Leo, on his appointment to the papacy, invited his assistance. Such was Hildebrand, and such his previous history; and now what advice will he give to the mild and unassuming Bruno? Mr. Bowden shall tell us.

"Bruno knew and respected his zeal and his ability, and, as he happened to be at Worms during the session of the council, the newly-chosen pontiff sent for him, and requested him to be the companion of his intended journey to Rome. 'I cannot,' said Hildebrand, 'accompany you;' and, when pressed to declare the reason of this, probably unexpected, refusal, he said, 'Because you go to occupy the government of the Roman Church, not in virtue of a regular and canonical institution to it, but as appointed to it by secular and kingly power.' This led to a discussion, in which Bruno, gentle and candid by nature, and already, perhaps, inclined in his heart to favour the principles which Hildebrand now advocated before him, permitted himself to be convinced, that the legitimate electors to the see of St. Peter were the Roman clergy and the people; and he prepared to shape his course accordingly. Returning to Toul, to make the necessary preparations, and to take a farewell of his diocese, he set out thence in a style very different from that which had usually been adopted by the nominees of Teutonic sovereigns in their inaugural journeys to the papal city. Instead of the rich pontifical attire which they were wont, from the day of their nomination, to assume, he clothed himself in the simple habit of a pilgrim, thus publicly testifying to the world, that notwithstanding the act of the German Henry and his council, he considered that his real selection was yet to come. Leaving Toul on the third day from the festival of Christmas, he halted, on his way, at the monastery of Cluni, and from hence, if not from Toul itself, was accompanied by Hildebrand, in his unostentatious progress to the papal city. At that city, bare-footed, and clad in the humble guise which he had thus assumed, Bruno arrived in the early part of

February, 1049 ; and, as he found the clergy and people assembled, and uttering hymns of thanksgiving and shouts of joy in honour of his arrival, he at once addressed them, and having announced to them the mode of his election in Germany, entreated them fully and freely to declare their sentiments on the subject. Their election, he said, was of paramount authority to every other ; and, if what had been done beyond the Alps, did not meet with their general approval, he was ready to return—a pilgrim as he had come—and to shake off the burden of a responsibility, which he had only upon compulsion undertaken. His discourse was responded to by an unanimous shout of approval ; and Bruno, installed without delay in his office, assumed thenceforward the name of Leo IX.”—p. 137—139.

It seems, then, there is a hidden power in the Church struggling with Henry in the person of his own nominees, and that as regards the very point through which the system of Charlemagne introduced corruption into it. The state appointment to Church offices, which was the result of the Carovingian changes, implied the secular character of the offices to which it was an appointment ; that presumed secular character led to their being treated as secular, and to their holders living in a secular way, to simony and self-indulgence. Henry’s reform then was conducted on a principle which involved and perpetuated the very evils which it was intended to remove ; if the Church was under secular jurisdiction, it was fairly open to secular use. This feeling it is which some power within the Church, the Church’s instinct or divine sense, seems to be travelling with and bringing into effect ; and now let us, under Mr. Bowden’s guidance, inquire into the history of the momentous doctrine in which it issued.

When Christians have but a partial confidence in their own principles, there is a great temptation, when Church matters go wrong, to give up God’s way, and take whatever is recommended by the expediency of the moment. The ancient and true methods of proceeding appear quite out of date and place ; the old materials, instruments, centres, and laws, on which the Church once moved, are apparently worn out by use ; and what remains but to assume whatever comes to hand ? We need not go to past ages for illustrations of this remark. In all times weeds and scum, and all that is worthless, float on the surface, and precious gems lie at the bottom of the deep ; and where there is neither faith to accept, nor penetration to apprehend, whatever does not obtrude itself upon the senses, men are very ready to put up with what they see, in despair of meeting with what may be more to their purpose. Thus in Hildebrand’s age, it might be plausibly argued that ecclesiastical affairs had, in the changes of society, devolved to the civil power ; that the state was their natural ad-

ministrator; that it had the means, and none but it, of reforming the Church. It might be urged that the old high spirit, beautiful as it had been, was no more; that there was no place within the Church on which a reformer could place himself, who desired to operate upon it; that whether he attempted pastors or flock, regulars or seculars, the ground would give way under him. The necessity of the case then formed the vindication of the Emperor's conduct, were there no other; and yet in matter of fact, out of that hopeless chaos rose, and upon it seated itself, the broadest and most sovereign rule which the Christian world has seen.

In truth, taking the corruptions of the day at the worst, they were principally on the surface of the Church. Scandals are petulant and press into view, and they are exaggerated from the shock they communicate. Friends exaggerate through indignation, foes through malevolence. In the worst of times there is always a remnant of holy men, out of sight, scanty perhaps in numbers, but great in moral strength, and there is always even in the multitude an acknowledgment of truths which they do not themselves practise. Among all men, educated and unlettered, there is a tacit recognition of certain principles as the cardinal points of society, which very rarely come distinctly into view, and of which the mind is the less conscious because of their intimate proximity to it. Such there were in Hildebrand's day, and the secret of his success lay in his having the genius or the faith to appeal to them. We should rather say the faith; for this is remarkably the case, and is exemplified in our own day; that what is commonly admired as successful talent is far more a firm realizing grasp of some great principle, and that power of developing it in all directions, and that nerve to abide faithful to it, which is involved in such a true apprehension.

The fundamental notion of the Hildebrandine period was the ecumenical power of the pope, which had been matured by a variety of circumstances, and remained in the European mind even in the most scandalous and trying times. Mr. Bowden has struck off some of these operative causes with great power. In the first place, Rome was the only apostolical see in the West and thereby had a natural claim to the homage of those which were less distinguished. This pre-eminence was heightened by her inflexible orthodoxy amid the doctrinal controversies in which the Eastern sees had successively erred, and by the office of arbitrator and referee, which she held amid their rivalries and quarrels. Further, when the descent of the barbarians had overwhelmed or exterminated the nations and churches of the empire Christian Rome became the instrument of the conversion of the heathen population, and the patriarchal centre of the new world.

which it created. And when the seat of temporal power had been removed to Constantinople, or re-founded in France or Germany, the Roman see came into a position of independence and sovereignty which could not be the lot of Churches living under the immediate shadow of the imperial throne. It became the rival of the eastern Cæsars and the viceroy of the western. Moreover, in the age of feudalism, when monarchy was the only form of civil polity, there would be at once a tendency in the ecclesiastical state to imitate it, and an expediency in order to meet and counteract its aggressions. And, amid national changes and the rise and fall of dynasties, it was natural for struggling leaders to seek support from a settled power like Rome, and to recognize it by asking its exercise. And it must be considered too that power has always a tendency to increase itself, and that, independently, as it would seem, of the wishes or efforts of its possessors. To these historical causes doctrinal sanctions, true or pretended, lent their aid. From the first, indeed, prerogatives were attached to the Church of Rome which belonged to no other but her; but these were extravagantly increased by certain well-known forgeries, of which Mr. Bowden gives us an interesting account. The chief of these were the pretended Decretals; a variety of letters, decrees and other documents, purporting to be the work of bishops of Rome from the very earliest times. This celebrated forgery made its appearance between the years 330 and 850, and, what is remarkable, did not proceed from Rome, but from the North, from Mentz, being, as would appear, the work of a deacon of that city of the name of Benedict. Under all circumstances it is natural for the weaker portion of the community to desire the means of appeal from the arbitrary will of their rulers, and that to a power safe from the local influences of those from whom they themselves desire protection; and this operated in an especial way in disposing the German bishops towards Rome, instead of their own metropolitans, at a time when the civil power was in the hands of tyrants but partially reclaimed from barbarism. The Churches of Germany then naturally looked to Rome for protection against their secular governors; and the forgery in question was the expression of their previous wishes, as well as the formal basis in justification of them in time to come. The spurious series, says Mr. Bowden, is throughout consistent with itself, and is occupied throughout in asserting the Church's independence from every species of secular dominion or jurisdiction; and "the bishop of the holy and universal Church" is declared to be the Pope. To him all cases of importance are to be referred; he is the head and cardinal point of all Churches, and by him they are all to be governed. Such was

the combination of circumstances under which the supremacy of the Pope over other bishops had been established, both in fact and in public opinion; and in this connection we are led to quote the following just and important remark of our author:—

“The pontiff,” he says, “did not so much claim new privileges for themselves as deprive their episcopal brethren of privileges originally common to the hierarchy. Even the title by which these autocratical prelates, in the plenitude of their power, delighted to style themselves, ‘*Summus Sacerdos*,’ ‘*Pontifex Maximus*,’ ‘*Vicarius Christi*,’ ‘*Papa*’ itself, had, nearer to the primitive times, been the honourable appellations of every bishop; as ‘*Sedes Apostolica*’ had been the designation of every bishop’s throne. The ascription of these titles therefore to the Pope only gave to the terms a new force, because that ascription became exclusive; because, that is, the bishops in general were stripped of honours to which their claims were as well founded as those of their Roman brother; who became, by the change, not so strictly universal, as sole, bishop. The degradation of the collective hierarchy, as involved in such a relative exaltation of one of its members, was seen and resisted by one not likely to entertain unreasonable or exaggerated views of the dangers to be expected from Roman aggrandizement, the truly great and good Pope Gregory I. ‘I beseech your holiness,’ said this pontiff to the patriarch of Alexandria, who had addressed him, contrary to his previously expressed desire, by the title of ‘*Papa Universalis*,’ ‘to do so no more; for that is taken from you which is bestowed, in an unreasonable degree, upon another. . . . I do not reckon that to be honour, in which I see their due honour taken from my brethren; for my honour is the honour of the Universal Church, the solid strength of my brethren: I then am truly honoured when the proper share of honour is assigned to each and to all. But if your holiness styles me “Universal Pope,” you renounce that dignity for yourself which you ascribe universally to me. But let this be done no more. . . . My predecessors have endeavoured, by cherishing the honour of all members of the priesthood throughout the world, to preserve their own in the sight of the Almighty.’

“And even at a much more mature stage of the growth of papal pretension, in the eleventh century itself, we find the pontiff Leo IX., in an epistle to the Grecian patriarch Michael Cerularius, repeating the assertion, made by Gregory in the above epistle, that his predecessor and namesake, Leo the Great, to whom the title of ecumenical patriarch had been offered by the Council of Chalcedon, had repudiated the proud appellation, by the ascription of which to one prelate an affront would be offered to the equal dignity of all.”—Vol. i. p. 64—66.

The causes we have been enumerating had effected the introduction of papal supremacy even before the dark times to which the Hildebrandine period succeeded; and it is observable, that even amid the moral and political degradation of the Roman see in the ninth and tenth centuries, the theory still maintained its hold upon the public mind. We find Dietrich, Archbishop of

Treves in 969, soliciting and obtaining from John XIII. for himself and his successors, that precedence among the archbishops of Germany which the office of legate was considered to confer. Stephen of Hungary, a secular prince, at the end of the tenth century, with a view of strengthening his authority over his half converted subjects, had obtained from Silvester II. the permission to combine his regal title with that of apostolic legate. Gregory XV., the immediate predecessor of Sylvester, excommunicated the son of Hugh Capet for an illegal marriage, and the Archbishop of Treves, who had solemnized it, with the other bishops who had countenanced it with their presence; and on his defying the sentence, had put his kingdom under an interdict, with such effect that the prince was deserted by his whole court and household, and even the two domestics who remained with him, avoiding his touch as infected, threw every plate and vessel out of which he had eaten and drunk into the fire. And, to take a fresh specimen of prerogative, John XV. about the same date, had begun the practice of canonization, acting, as he expressed it, "by the authority of the blessed Peter, prince of Apostles," from whom he claimed to be the one visible head of the community of the faithful, the "bishop of the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church." It cannot be denied then, that in spite of the dreadful demoralization of the Church and popedom in the tenth and eleventh centuries, there was laid in the temper of the age and the feelings of society a deep and firm groundwork, if men could be found who had the heart to appeal to it, for reforming and purifying the Church by an internal effort, and without recurring to the temporal power, which seemed at first sight the obvious, or rather the only resource.

Here then was the point of battle between the Church and the State. The State said to the Church, "I am the only power which can reform you; you hold of me, and your dignities and offices are in my gift." The Church said to the State, "She who wields the power even of smiting kings, cannot be a king's creature; and if you attempt to reform, you will be planting the root of corruption by the same hand which cuts off its branches."

The struggle between the parties began from the commencement of Hildebrand's political history. Before his intimacy with Leo IX., he had, as we have seen, been connected with the unfortunate Gregory VI.; yet, even he, guilty as he was of a crime to which Hildebrand so earnestly opposed himself from first to last, committed it with the object of asserting, against the aristocracy, the dormant right of the Roman clergy and people to elect their own bishops. After this time Hildebrand seems to have been the chief mover in ecclesiastical movements in the papal city

for a space of twenty-four years, till the time of his own elevation, in which time he served the Popes Leo IX., Victor II., Stephen IX., Nicholas II., and Alexander II.,—all of them virtuous or even austere persons,—steadily developing and realizing by successive acts the purification of the Church and the theory of her independence and sovereignty. For the interesting history of this period, we must refer to Mr. Bowden's second book, and shall content ourselves here with some sketches of scenes and characters which occur in the course of it, and which will introduce the reader naturally to some specimens of the growth of papal power in that interval, and the mode of it.

The pontificate of Leo IX., whom we have already brought before him, supplies an illustration of the mixture of catholic truth with wild romance, which pervades the history of the times. In his own person he was a model of that reform which he compassed for the whole Church.

“The personal habits of Leo, while he thus actively laboured in the cause of reformation, were of the most ascetic nature; his life formed a consistent course of abstinence and self-denial; and the hours of sleep were systematically abridged by his devotions: for, when at Rome, it was his wont, thrice in the week, to walk barefoot at midnight from the palace of the Lateran to the church of St. Peter—from one extremity, that is, of Rome to the other—accompanied by two or three only of his clergy, for the purposes of praise and prayer: a spectacle, which might well strike those with astonishment, who were accustomed to the scenes of infamy and riot, by which the palace in question, and the papal city in general, had been disgraced under the licentious pontiffs of the preceding age.”—vol. i. p. 152.

Yet this pure and holy man is next presented to us as leading a military expedition against the Normans, which he seems to have thought to be as little out of character with his pontifical office as a rector of a parish among ourselves in being a magistrate and reading the riot act, or a clergyman serving the office of proctor in our universities. The Normans were at this time in Calabria and Apulia, whither they had at first come as pilgrims, then done battle as champions of the faith, then served as mercenaries, and at length spread devastation as marauders. The pagan to whom they opposed themselves was the Saracen, who from time to time made descents upon the coast, though his power was on the decline. Mr. Bowden gives the following account of the first collision between young faith and degenerate misbelief, and its results:

“In or about the year 1002, a petty flotilla appeared before Salerno, and a body of Saracens, landing under the walls of the place, demanded, with the customary menaces, a pecuniary contribution. Guaimar III.

Prince of Salerno, and his timid subjects, felt that they had no course to adopt but submission; and their surprise was great, when about forty pilgrims from a distant land, who happened to be at the moment within their walls, requested of the prince arms, horses, and permission to chastise these insolent marauders. The request was readily complied with: the pilgrim warriors, accoutred in haste, galloped eagerly forth through the gates of Salerno; the Saracens, confounded and dismayed, fled tumultuously from the onset of this unexpected foe; and esteemed themselves happy when their retreating barks bore them out of reach of the sword of the victorious Normans.

“The delighted Guaimar would willingly have been prodigal in his bounty toward his gallant deliverers; but he experienced a second surprise when the costly presents, which he laid before them, were firmly, though courteously, rejected. ‘For the love of God, and of the Christian faith,’ said the chivalrous pilgrims, ‘we have done what we have done; and we may neither accept of wages for such service, nor delay our return to our homes.’ They departed accordingly; but not unaccompanied. Guaimar sent with them, to their native land, envoys, laden with presents, such as might best tempt the countrymen of these hardy and disinterested warriors to enlist in his service. Specimens of southern fruits, superb vestments, golden bits, and magnificent horse-trappings, attracted and dazzled the eyes of the population of Normandy, and produced on the enterprising youth of the province their natural effect. Encouraged by the glowing description given by their friends of the sunny clime which they had visited, and of the opportunities, there offered, of enterprise and honour, swarms of northern warriors crossed the Alps: they were readily, and honourably welcomed by Guaimar and other princes of southern Italy; and engaged, under one banner or another, in most of the intestine quarrels which at that period distracted the country.”—vol. i. pp. 156, 157.

The Normans, as indeed this extract shows, were a people of warm religious feelings; but a young nation has the waywardness and uncertainty of children, and every now and then these soldiers of fortune, turning to plunder, were tempted to rifle, for the sake of gain, the holy shrines which, on their first appearance, they had come to worship. Tidings of their sacrilegious acts reached the ears of Leo. “And when,” Mr. Bowden tells us, “he saw that the insulters of the Church were also the ruthless oppressors of their fellow-creatures, when he beheld the southern gates of Rome daily thronged by the wretched inhabitants of Apulia, who, destitute, blinded, and horribly mutilated, were seeking a refuge from further tyranny behind the sheltering walls of the papal city, the pitying pontiff yielded himself entirely to the impulses of his benevolent nature,” and led an army in person against the Normans. He crossed the Alps and gained of the emperor 500 Germans, most of them volunteers; then returning

he raised the banner of St. Peter in Italy, and a motley company from Apulia, Campania, and Ancona flocked around it. It is not known whether Hildebrand sanctioned this measure. Benno "his embittered adversary," as Mr. Bowden calls him, charges him with doing so; but "the statement," he continues, "appears to be unsupported by other contemporaneous authority; and the work of Benno is filled with so many palpable calumnies against Hildebrand, that nothing in the nature of an accusation can be worthy of credit which rests upon his evidence alone." It is undeniable, however, that Hildebrand, when Pope, himself entertained a somewhat similar project. On the other hand, his intimate friend, and the principal organ of his party, Peter Damiani, has left on record his protest against the assumption, on the part of the successor of St. Peter, of that earthly sword, which our Lord himself denied the Apostle. Any how, it was unprecedented in that age, considering Leo was Pope, and the enemy a Christian people; though bishops were in the habit of accompanying their retainers to the field, and Pope John X., somewhat more than a century before, had engaged Mahomedans in battle.

"It was on the 18th of June, 1053, that Leo's troops confronted those of the enemy near the town of Civitella. The Normans, when aware of his intentions, had made all preparations in their power to ward off the coming blow. William Iron-arm was no more; but his brothers, Humphrey and Robert,—the latter of whom, subsequently surnamed Guiscard, had recently arrived in Apulia with a considerable reinforcement to the Norman forces,—succeeded to the command of his intrepid warriors; and Richard, Count of Aversa, the chief of a smaller, but independent, Norman colony in Italy, brought all the force he could muster to the defence of the common cause. But the Normans were dispirited: rumour had magnified among them the scale of the papal preparations, and they were awed by the sacred character of him in whom, even while he was their enemy, they recognised their spiritual parent. The heralds, therefore, who approached Leo while he was yet within the walls of Civitella, assumed an humble tone; they deprecated his hostility, and informed him, that the Norman princes, though they declined to abandon possessions which they had won, were ready to hold their conquests thenceforward by his grant, and do suit and service for them to him, as to their lord paramount. But the tall, bulky Germans, by whom the pontiff was surrounded, smiled in scorn when they beheld the diminutive though active forms of their adversaries; and Leo, inspired by their confidence, as well as by his conviction of the goodness of his cause, rejected the overtures of the Norman leaders, and demanded the total abandonment of the lands which they had recently usurped from St. Peter. This the Normans declined to concede, and therefore, feeling that no other alternative lay before them, they gave the signal for battle, before Leo had issued from the gates of

Civitella. The result of the action which now took place, falsified alike the confident anticipations of the one party, and the desponding auguries of the other. The impetuous charge of the Norman chivalry at once unmanned the timid Italians who composed the bulk of Leo's army: and who fled in every possible direction. Werner and his German band met the shock with the calm courage of their country; but the Normans, unresisted elsewhere, turned their flanks, and hemmed them in on every side; until this gallant troop, contending valiantly to the last, covered with their corpses the ground which they had occupied. But for their resistance,—so sudden was the flight, so rapid the dispersion, of Leo's army,—the business of the day might seem rather to deserve the name of a slaughter than of a battle.

“The conquering chiefs pushed on without delay, through the streets of Civitella, into the presence of Leo. But they no sooner beheld the venerable pontiff, than, exchanging the fierceness of the warrior for the subdued tone of the penitent, they fell at his feet, and in abasement and tears besought the absolution and the blessing of their vanquished enemy. Moved by this conduct, and induced by the exigency of his position, Leo revoked the sentence of anathema which he had pronounced against them; and they then escorted him with all reverence and honour to the city of Benevento. Here the humbled pontiff remained nine months, during which time, at the request of his captors, he consented to grant them, in the name of St. Peter, the investiture of all their conquests, made or to be made, in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily; which they were thenceforward to hold as fiefs of the holy see.”—vol. i. p. 162—165.

By this turn of events, Leo's defeat and captivity involved more favourable results than could have been reaped from the most brilliant victory. The Pope acquired a claim on the services of the Normans, as of vassals; and moreover, recognition of his power to confer the investiture, as lord paramount, of extensive domains, over which they had held no previous sway. What was more the immediate purpose of the war, the presence of the mild old man succeeded in subduing the fierceness and cruelty with which the proceedings of the Normans had hitherto been attended; an effect which would be naturally promoted by their admission, in consequence of the compact, into the circle of recognized sovereigns and the responsibilities of legitimate power. However, Leo did not find all this consolation in the issue of his military exploits.

“His ardent temperament,” says Mr. Bowden, “had encouraged him too confidently to anticipate a blessing on his exertions; and the same disposition now led him to trace the displeasure of heaven in his calamity. While at Benevento, he employed all his hours, except those engaged in negotiation or other necessary business, in religious meditation, in prayer, and in exercises of ascetic devotion. Though his health was de-

clining, a carpet on the bare earth was his ordinary couch, a stone his pillow, and a hair shirt his garment next the skin. Under such austerities, aided as they were in their effect by the sorrows and anxieties of his mind, his constitution gradually sank; and when he at length left Benevento, and returned, in March, 1054, to the papal city, it was only to breathe his last there on the 19th of the following April, after having committed to his beloved friend Hildebrand the provisional government of the Roman Church, until a new pontiff should be appointed to the apostolic see."—vol. i. pp. 166, 167.

St. Peter Damiani, Bishop of Ostia, who has already been incidentally mentioned, is another personage of this period, whom the course of the history brings before us, and to whom, we think, that Mr. Bowden is hardly fair, as regards one passage of his life, though he treats him always with that respect and honour which is his due. On his elevation to his see, Mr. Bowden thus describes him:—

"Damiani was a man of sincere and deep devotion, of extraordinary talents, and of a monastic austerity. He was of too ardent a temperament to be uniformly judicious in his proceedings; and his faith was of a description which led him to receive, without question, a host of legends of the most absurd description. But there shone forth in him a singleness and purity of character, which, in connexion with his abilities, procured him the universal respect and admiration of his contemporaries. And though, in pushing to the extreme the notions of the age, he must be admitted to have played no unimportant part in forwarding the progress of doctrinal corruptions, yet his name—when the nature of his position is fairly taken into the account—can scarcely be thought undeserving of the veneration of posterity. His exaltation, in this instance, was resisted by him with all his might. He feared to be drawn from the unremitting austerities of his retirement; and it was not until he was threatened by Stephen and his council with excommunication, that he consented to change the life of seclusion and self-denial which he lived, for the activity and notoriety of a more responsible situation."—vol. i. pp. 189, 190.

After this he was sent to Milan, as legate, to set right the disorders of the Church, which the Milanese clergy attempted to shield from reform under colour of the dignity and independence of the Church over which St. Ambrose had presided. They asserted also their right to marriage, which was another point on which reform was demanded, on ground of a privilege granted them by the same saint. In this business he was associated with Anselm da Badagio, Bishop of Lucca, afterwards Pope Alexander II. The person named Ariald in the course of the extract was a deacon of Milan, who had headed the reforming party.

"Making their appearance in the long-disturbed city, these envoys

found the archbishop and his clergy, however hostile in secret to their coming, prepared to acknowledge their authority, and to receive them with every outward mark and sign of deference. But the populace, moved perhaps by the secret instigations of their pastors, soon showed, disposed as they might be themselves to ridicule or revile these careless guides—that they were keenly jealous of the assumed independence of their native Church, and viewed with suspicion any papal interference with the proceedings of its governors. In tumultuous throngs they filled the streets, and entered the building in which the legates had convened the clerical body of the place. And their wrath was greatly increased, when they there beheld Damiani, as chief legate, after himself assuming the principal seat of honour, place his colleague Anselm on his right, and then Archbishop Guido on his left. Loud murmurs filled the place at this seeming slight of their pastor; murmurs which that prelate artfully contrived to augment, by saying, with apparent humility, that he was in no way offended by this arrangement, but that he would sit, if commanded by the legates so to do, on a stool before their feet. The discontent at length broke out into open tumult,—the populace uttered loud cries of vengeance against the presumptuous legate, who had dared thus to insult the successor of St. Ambrose:—the clergy, eager to augment the fray, rang the alarm bell in the various churches of the city;—the confusion increased,—and even the life of Damiani was apparently in danger. But that bold and high-spirited man was equal to the crisis; ascending a pulpit, he showed himself prepared to address the tumultuous multitude. His dauntless bearing awed them to silence, and he was heard with attention, while with dignity, and all the eloquence which distinguished him, he set forth the claims which the mother Church of Rome possessed on the dutiful obedience of her daughter, the Church of Milan. He cited instances in which St. Ambrose himself had appealed to the protection of the Roman prelate, and acknowledged his pre-eminence. ‘Search,’ he concluded, ‘your own records, and if ye find not there that what we say is the truth, expose our falsehood. But if ye find us true, resist not the truth, resist not undutifully the voice of your mother; but from her, from whom ye first drew in the milk of apostolic faith, receive with gratitude the more solid food of heavenly doctrine.’

“This appeal, and the legate’s fearless demeanour, produced a sudden turn in the feelings of his hearers. The archbishop, too, felt it necessary now to rise, and to request his people to suffer the skilful physician who had just addressed them, to do his best towards healing their spiritual sickness. The populace retired, soothed and tranquil, and the clergy offered no further opposition to the legatine authority. On Peter’s demand, their whole body, with the archbishop at their head, agreed to pledge themselves with a solemn vow against simony and clerical marriage. Ariald took the oath among them; and Peter, thus successful in his mission, pronounced in his official character the reconciliation of Milan to the apostolic see.”—vol. i. p. 208—210.

Shortly after this Damiani resolved on abdicating his bishopric

and retiring back to his beloved cloister, from which he had been with such difficulty separated. Here it is that we think Mr. Bowden is rather hard upon him, unless, as is certainly possible, he has reasons which do not appear in his volumes. He calls him "singularly-minded," and he speaks of "his morbid craving after ascetic retirement." Now surely there is nothing strange in his desiring quiet, and, as to whether he ought to have indulged that desire, that is a question which no one could determine but himself. Supposing he found himself falling back in self-control and divine love, would not that be a reason for doubt and deliberation what it was his duty to do? Gibbon speaks ironically of unwilling monks being torn out of their retreats and seated on bishops' thrones, but no one can know but themselves how great a blessing the cloister is, and what a great sacrifice to relinquish it. The ten thousand trivial accidents of the day in a secular life which exert a troublous influence upon the soul, dimming its fair surface with many a spot of dust and damp, these give place to a divine stillness, which, to those who can bear it, is the nearest approach to heaven. A sharp word, or a light remark, or a tone, or an expression of countenance, or a report, or an unwelcome face, or an association, ruffles the mind and keeps it from fixing itself upon its true good. "One day," says St. Gregory when Pope "when I was oppressed with the excessive trouble of secular affairs I sought a retired place, friendly to grief, where whatever displeased me of my engagements, might show itself openly, and all that was accustomed to inflict pain might be seen at one view. While he was there "his most dear son Peter the deacon," who had been his intimate from the time that the latter was a young man, surprised him. He opens his grief to Peter in words which are so much to our purpose, that with the reader's indulgence we will digress to quote them. "My sad mind," he says, "labouring under the soreness of its engagements, remembers how it went with me formerly in my monastery, how all perishable things were beneath it, how it was superior to all that was transitory; that it went to think of nought but things of heaven; that though still in the body, it went out beyond the very prison of the flesh in contemplation; that it even loved death, which is to nearly all a punishment, as the entrance of life and the reward of its labour. But now, in consequence of the pastoral charge, it undergoes the business of secular men, and for that fair beauty of its quiet, dishonoured with the dust of earthly work. And after dissipating itself on outward things, to serve the many, even when it seeks what is inward, it comes home indeed, but is no more equal to itself."—*Dial.* i. 1. Such would be the bitter experience of a mind like Damiani's; and it depends on a number of minu-

circumstances whether it was not as much his duty to decline the pastoral charge as Gregory's to retain it. Mr. Bowden allows, too, that "from his retirement he continued to watch with an attentive eye the fortunes of the Church; by his epistles he still interfered with her concerns and influenced her destiny, nor was he backward when called on to devote himself on special occasions to active services in her cause." And we find in the after history, of his going, in his extreme age, as Alexander's legate, to the young King Henry, and preventing him from the scandalous step of divorcing an innocent wife, against whom he had no charge but that he did not like her. Mr. Bowden notices, however, that Hildebrand never forgave his retirement at a time when the Church had such need of his services in his episcopate; and he adds his own suspicion that some feelings towards Hildebrand akin to jealousy influenced him in retiring from his post.

Another personage who must not be passed without notice is the Empress Agnes, the wife of Henry III., the reforming emperor, and the mother of the prince of the same name, with whom, as we shall hereafter see, Hildebrand, as Pope, came into collision. Her husband dying young, she was appointed regent to her young son, and was led, from the political circumstances in which she found herself, to place herself in opposition to the papal party, who had elected Alexander II. Pope, without waiting for the emperor's concurrence, on the plea of his being a minor. Agnes in consequence had, by means of a German council, appointed in his place Cadalous, Bishop of Parma, who, coming to Rome, posted himself in St. Angelo, which belonged to a family of the name of Cencius, and for some years harassed the Pope in possession. Afterwards she underwent severe affliction; her son was stolen from her, and put into the hands of persons who corrupted him. The consequence is related in the following passage:—

"The Empress Agnes, when bereft of her son, had entertained, as we have seen, in the first moments of her anguish, the thought of devoting herself to a life of religious seclusion. Though she had been subsequently recalled to the court, and to her son's society, under the auspices of Adelbert, it was not to resume the commanding part which she had formerly played there, but to be treated with empty honours, while she beheld the unhappy youth guided, in courses which she deprecated, by counsellors whom she had no power to control. She continued, therefore, a mourner; and her sorrows strengthened and confirmed the devotional tendency of her mind. Earthly expectations fading before her, she learned to lean more steadfastly on hopes from above. Her friend and adviser, the Bishop of Augsburg, having died, she listened with pleasure to the ghostly counsels conveyed to her in the epistles addressed to her by Peter Damiani. Under this training, she learned to view the

course of her late policy with altered eyes, and to mourn over the part which she had taken in the election of Cadalous, as over a grievous sin. And, after Adelbert's overthrow had once more put her son into the hands of those who had originally stolen him from her, she resolved on abandoning alike the name of earthly dignity, and the country in which that dignity had been enjoyed; and on spending the remainder of her days in repentance and devotion, at the threshold of St. Peter. Wonderful, according to Damiani, and edifying, was the spectacle of her entrance into the apostolic city. She rode, not on a stately palfrey, but on a short and sorry steed, scarcely exceeding the size of an ass: the robe had been changed for the veil, the purple for the sackcloth; and the hand which had wielded the sceptre, was worn by the constant use of the Psalter. Arrived in Rome, she humbled herself before the pontiff, whose title she had disputed; she sought and received his absolution; and then devoted herself to religious seclusion, in the convent of St. Petronilla, in the papal city."—vol. i. pp. 256, 257.

In these extracts much has incidentally been shown of the nature of the struggle which was in progress, and the results to which it was approximating. The most important of these was that above referred to in the history of Agnes. A decree of a Lateran Council had been passed under Nicholas II. in 1059, vesting the election of Pope in the College of Cardinals, with the concurrence and ratification of the emperor; a decree which was more than acted upon on the election of Alexander, which next followed. The imperial court resisted the appointment, and named an antipope; but the contest was terminated in favour of the Papalists in 1067, at a council held in Mantua, in which the emperor gave up Cadalous and acknowledged Alexander II. Six years afterwards Alexander died. Hildebrand had already on a former occasion been put forward for the papal chair, but he had resisted the proposal, it is said, "with many tears and supplications;" now, however, the following scene took place:—

"Alexander II. had no sooner breathed his last, than his archdeacon in concert with the other leading ecclesiastics of the city, directed that the three following days should be devoted to fasting, to deeds of charity and to prayer; after which the proper authorities were to proceed,—in the hope of the divine blessing upon their counsels,—to the election of a successor. But, long before the period thus prescribed had elapsed that election was decided.

"On the day following that of Alexander's decease, the dignified clergy of the Roman Church stood, with the archdeacon, round the bier of the departed pontiff, in the patriarchal church of the Lateran. The funeral rites were in progress, and Hildebrand, it is probable, was taking a part in the celebration of these solemn ceremonies. But suddenly from the body of the building, which had been filled to overflowing by the lower clergy and people, burst forth the cry of 'Hildebrand.' A thousand voices instantly swelled the sound 'Hildebrand shall be Pope.

'St. Peter chooses our Archdeacon Hildebrand.' These, and cries like these, rang wildly along the church; the ceremonies were interrupted, and the officiating clergy paused in suspense. The subject of this tumult, recovering from a momentary stupor, rushed into a pulpit, and thence, while his gestures implored silence, attempted to address the agitated assembly. But the attempt was vain; the uproar continued, and it was not until they perceived the cardinal presbyter, Hugo Candidus, coming forward, and soliciting their attention, that the multitude suffered their cries to subside.

" 'Brethren,' said the cardinal, 'ye know, and, as it appears, ye acknowledge, that, from the time of our Holy Father Leo, Hildebrand, our archdeacon, has proved himself a man of discretion and probity; that he has exalted the dignity of our Roman Church, and rescued our Roman city from imminent dangers. We can find no man more fitting to be entrusted with the future defence of our church or state; and we, the cardinal bishops, do, with one voice, elect Hildebrand to be henceforth your spiritual pastor and our own.'

"The joyous cries of the populace arose anew. The cardinal bishops, and clergy, approached the object of their choice to lead him toward the apostolic throne. 'We choose,' they cried to the people, 'for our pastor and pontiff, a devout man; a man skilled in interpreting the Scriptures; a distinguished lover of equity and justice; a man firm in adversity, and temperate in prosperity; a man, according to the saying of the Apostle, of good behaviour, blameless, modest, sober, chaste, given to hospitality, and one that ruleth well in his own house. A man from his childhood generously brought up in the bosom of this mother Church, and for the merit of his life already raised to the archidiaconal dignity. We choose, namely, our archdeacon, Hildebrand, to be Pope and successor to the Apostle, and to bear henceforward and for ever the name of Gregory.' The Pope elect, upon this, was forthwith invested by eager hands with the scarlet robe and tiara of pontifical dignity, and placed, notwithstanding his gestures of reluctance, and even his tears, upon the throne of the Apostle. The cardinals approached him with obeisance, and the people, with shouts yet louder and more joyous than before, repeated the designation of their new pontiff, and tumultuously testified their approbation." —vol. i. p. 314—317.

Considering the unparalleled character, or, as we may say, the madness of the plans to which Hildebrand was pledged, and which his spirit within him told him he must attempt at all risks, it is not wonderful at all that he should both have shrunk from the pontificate beforehand, and have been overcome with the burden when first put upon him. Power or wealth is pleasant to us when unattended with conditions; but did they involve the necessity of risking limbs, or resigning friends, they would lose much of their attraction and many of their aspirants. Now Hildebrand was thus circumstanced: while he was a subordinate he might promote plans of others, though short of the best and largest; but when 'a dispensation of the Gospel' was committed to him, "neces-

sity was laid on him" to go through all and leave nothing undone.

"The event of his election, unexpected as, at the moment, it unquestionably was, seems to have overwhelmed for a while even his intrepid spirit. In letters written from the couch on which, exhausted in mind and body, he passed the following day, he speaks of it in terms of terror, and, using the poetical language of the Psalms, exclaims, 'I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me. I am weary of my crying: my throat is dried. Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and horror hath overwhelmed me.' And he concludes by anxiously imploring the intercessions of his friends with heaven in his behalf; expressing a hope that their prayers, though they had not sufficed to prevent his being called to that post of danger, might yet avail to defend him when placed there.

"The greatness, and,—in the actual state of the world,—the daring nature, of the desires which animated him, and those with whom he had for some time been acting, now stood, perhaps, more fully displayed before him than ever, at the moment in which he felt himself irrevocably pledged to be the leading instrument in their fulfilment. His election called him to occupy the foremost post in the great conflict of principle then pending; a conflict, on his part, against long-rooted customs, against long established authority; a conflict against the wishes, the prejudices, and even, in some respects, the affections natural to mankind: a conflict in which to fail was ruin and disgrace; from which to retire would be a sinful abandonment of duty. An irresistible necessity, as it would appear to him, suddenly brought him close to those gigantic events,—those fearful moments of crisis, which he had till then been permitted to contemplate through the mists of a comparatively dim and distant futurity; and his spirit may well have shrunk, for a moment, from more nearly and more directly contemplating them."—vol. i. p. 318, 319.

He wrote a letter shortly after his elevation to Lanfranc, to whom he unbosomed himself more entirely than to others, and from this Mr. Bowden gives us some extracts. "The greater" he says "the peril in which we are placed, the greater our need of the prayers of all good men. For we, if we would escape the sentence of the divine wrath, must arise against many, and must incense them against our own soul. And thy prudence will alike see, how fearful it must be for us to abstain from opposing such persons, and how difficult for us to oppose them." Such were his feelings, and that they were replete with faith and conscientiousness there can be no doubt, or that he viewed the course which lay before him with awe. But now what was it which he thus contemplated as his destined trial? The first that shall be mentioned was no less than this: the obliging the clergy and their wives to separate, or to retire from their preferments, on the ground that clerical marriage was against the rule of the Church. Now this subject requires some explanation.

We have already noticed that simony and licentiousness were the two crying sins of the clergy; nor did their practice of taking wives at all diminish the latter. Rather it led to it; for since they knew that in marriage they were transgressing their duty, they were easily led on, from the recklessness which follows upon the wilful violation of conscience in any matter, from a first sin to a second. The prohibitory rule was one of long standing, and Mr. Bowden, waving the discussion into its abstract propriety, has drawn up a succinct account of it from the time of Pope Nicholas I. to the date of Hildebrand, a period of two hundred years. Direct condemnations of the practice are found in Nicholas's reply to the Bulgarians, 860; in the Synod of Worms, 868; in Leo VII.'s epistle to the Gauls and Germans, 938; in the decrees of Augsburg, 952; and in Benedick VIII.'s speech, and the decrees passed at Pavia about 1020. Hicmar of Rheims in 845, Chrodegang bishop of Metz in 750, councils at Mentz and Metz in 888, and at Nantes at the end of the same century, had confirmed the rule with additional circumstances of strictness. And the association in the case of the clergy between marriage and concubinage, or general profligacy, were unhappily so deeply seated, that neither did it occur to the reformers to question their necessary connection; nor, had they done so, could they have overcome the popular feeling on the subject. Under the circumstances, as Mr. Bowden observes, "the battle which they undertook against their less strict contemporaries, was unquestionably that of purity against impurity, that of holiness against corruption. Seizing the means in their power, they set themselves to achieve, and did achieve, a most important reformation; and we may not think lightly, either of their principles, or of their labours, because that reformation was imperfect."

We have already stated what Gregory's proceeding was, and it was carried into effect under circumstances as shocking as the resolve was ruthless. With a single and severe determination, putting before him the honour of Christ, and the welfare of the Church, like Ezra, the great reformer of Judah, he "said to his father and to his mother, I have not seen him; neither did he acknowledge his brethren, nor knew his own children." Ezra learned, to his deep dismay, that his people had taken to themselves wives of the heathen; "so that the holy seed had mingled themselves with the people of those lands, yea, the hand of the princes and rulers had been chief in this trespass." Upon this he tells us, that he rent his garment and mantle, and plucked off the hair of his head and of his beard, and sat down astonished. So he sat all the evening sacrifice; when he arose from his heaviness, deliberately rent his garment and mantle, fell on his knees, spread

out his hands towards heaven, and confessed the sin of his people, and interceded for their forgiveness. One thing only could be done, and Shechaniah, the son Jehiel, exhorted him to it; to make the people "put away all the wives, and such as were born of them;" and he added "Arise, for this matter belongeth unto thee; we also will be with thee; be of good courage and do it." Such a voice seemed to sound in Gregory's ears; and, in the strength of a pure conscience, he bade those of his brethren, who against their conscience had taken wives, make the only reparation which could be made by them for their sin.

But it was not so easy to accomplish as to command; he had, as might be supposed, an opposition to encounter, to which no nerve but his could have been equal.

"Vehement was the indignation of the German clergy, when first the intelligence of this obnoxious enactment reached their ears, and when they found that the great moral power, which the papacy had within the last few years attained, was to be wielded in enforcing, as realities, those principles of austere reformation, which, when promulged as they had been by Gregory's predecessors, a few years before, had probably seemed like theoretical notions, based upon views unsuited to the state of things actually existing in the world. The pope, the clergy exclaimed aloud, was a heretic, and his decree that of a mad man. The execution of it was a childish, an impossible, notion. Human nature being what it was, the rigour of his laws,—the attempt to make men live like angels, would only plunge the clergy, by a necessary re-action, into habits more dissolute than ever. And the letter of holy Scripture—the plain teaching as well of our Lord himself, as of his inspired Apostle, was directly at variance with this wild, this extravagant enactment. But they defied him to proceed to such an extremity as to enforce its general adoption; and protested that, sooner than resign their domestic enjoyments, they would relinquish the priesthood; and when he had expelled them, for no other reason than that they were men, he might seek where he could for angels, to minister in the churches in their stead.

"And long, and violently, did this tumult rage. Several bishops, among whom was Otho, of Constance, openly put themselves at the head of the clergy opposed to Gregory's authority. And prelates, who, taking a different course, attempted to promulgate the papal edict in their respective dioceses, were assailed by the refractory members of their churches with insolence and outrage. But Gregory, ever watchful of their proceedings, prevented their zeal from flagging by repeated messages of warning, exhortation, and encouragement. And most especially was he urgent with Siegfried, to assume, on the occasion, the determined tone which became him, as primate of Germany, and to enforce the observance of the mandates of the church, with the full weight of his authority."—vol. ii. p. 20—22.

Siegfried was a most unworthy successor of St. Boniface. He had at an early date committed himself to an attempt to introduce

a tithe payment among the Thuringians, which he prosecuted at all seasons, with a pertinacity not at all inferior to that of the worthy Trapbois, for his miserable piece of gold. With the hope of effecting this, through the royal power, he had even consented to advocate the project of the royal divorce, and summoned a council for that purpose in his metropolitan city; when Damiani appeared as the pope's legate and stopped the infamous proceeding, as was mentioned above. The year following he was summoned by Alexander II. to Rome, to defend himself against a charge of simoniacal practices. Roused to a momentary remorse by the remonstrance of the pope, he expressed a wish to resign his station, and retire to a life of penitence and seclusion. This proposal however was strenuously resisted by Alexander and others, and he returned to Germany, to lose his serious thoughts, and to relapse into his former secularity. At the present crisis, he gave his clergy six months to deliberate on Gregory's injunction, and then summoned a council, in which he made them renounce either their wives or those offices which they had accepted on the condition of celibacy. The clergy, after hearing his address, quitted the place of assembly, as if for the purpose of private deliberation, and then resolved at once to set out for home, without his leave. Siegfried however pacified them and persuaded them to return, with the promise that he would send to Rome to solicit a relaxation of the enactment; but no sooner had he effected this, than the very next day he brought forward instead, before a mixed assembly of clergy and laity, the old question of his pretensions to the Thuringian tithes, which had already been settled by treaty in favour of the Thuringians. A tumult ensued; the council was broken up in confusion, the archbishop with difficulty escaped with his life, and taking himself to Heiligenstadt, he continued there during the remainder of the year, repeating, but in vain, on every festival, his summons to the disturbers of the council to do penance for the time, under pain of excommunication.

But Gregory had a new and formidable and, we must add, unjustifiable weapon, which he now brought into the contest. The measure which he was enforcing was founded on four canons lately passed at Rome in council, the fourth of which was to the effect that the laity should refuse the ministrations both of simoniacal and of married or licentious clergy. This canon seemed to oppose the advice of Nicholas I. to the newly converted Bulgarians, who, on asking whether they should receive and honour married priests, had received for answer, that such priests might be in themselves fit subjects of censure, but it was not for them as laymen to pronounce a censure which lay with their bishops only.

Gregory, however, seems to have understood that that aversion to a married priesthood, which he felt himself, was shared largely by the multitude, especially as they saw marriage commonly associated with general laxity of life. Another feeling which he had on his side was of a far less defensible character—the opposition to authority, and especially ecclesiastical authority, which is natural to the mind. He urged then the canon upon the Germans, and the consequences were horrible :—

“By the last of the four canons above quoted, the laity were thrown into the position,—if not of judges of the priesthood,—at least of punishers of its irregularities. And such invitation, thus made, was of course readily and generally attended to. The occasion seemed,—to the selfish, the irreverent, and the profane,—to legalize the gratification of all the bad feelings, with which persons of those dispositions must ever regard the church and her ministry ; and priests, whose disobedience to the papal authority furnished any excuse for such conduct, were openly beaten, abused, and insulted by their rebellious flocks. Some were forced to fly with the loss of all that they possessed, some were deprived of limbs, and some, it is even said, put to death in lingering torments. And to lengths even more horrible than these did the popular violence thus unhappily, thus criminally sanctioned, proceed. Too many were delighted to find, what they could consider a religious excuse for neglecting religion itself, for depriving their children of the inestimable gift conferred in the holy sacrament of baptism, or for making the solemn mysteries of the Church subjects for the most degrading mockery, or for the most atrocious profanation. Deeply is it to be regretted that a portly man who desired, from the bottom of his heart, the purification of the Church ; whose whole life had been devoted to that high and holy cause and who unquestionably would have shrunk, in the abstract, from the idea of supporting that cause by any means inconsistent with the maintenance of a proper discipline in the Church ; should have evoked, in furtherance of his views, a spirit of so odious a character, as was that which showed itself in these dreadful transactions. But such had been the line marked out for him by those who had gone before him ; and it accorded but too well with the general structure of the great theological system under which he lived ; a system great and glorious in its general features,—on which, indeed, it yet bore the unquestioned impress of divinity ; but which, blighted and distorted as it had been by its human modifications, only showed, when contemplated under partial or particular lights, the extent of its deviation from its original model, and the foulness of its consequent corruptions.”—vol. ii. p. 25—27.

In France the promulgation of Gregory's canons was received by the clergy with a burst of indignation yet more vehement, possible, than that which had followed them in Germany. The council of Paris denounced them, and the only member of the assembly who ventured to defend them was seized, beaten, spurned upon, and tumultuously dragged to prison. When the Arc

bishop of Rouen endeavoured to enforce them upon his clergy, he was pelted with stones and fled for his life. Mr. Bowden tells us that the system of clerical marriage had been so completely established in Normandy, that churches had become property heritable by the sons, and even by the daughters, of their possessors. This fact shows how the two canonical offences of clerical marriage and simony ran together. Indeed it seems that the French king, breaking a promise he had made to Gregory, was practising a simoniacal traffic in bishops and abbeys without remorse or shame; while the holders of dignities thus obtained were not likely to be more scrupulous in their turn, in their nomination to such inferior benefices and offices as thus fell under their control. In Spain, again, the papal legate was assailed by the clergy with menaces and outrages, when he attempted to enforce the observance of celibacy upon them. When the ill-treated parties complained to Gregory, they got some such consolation as the following: "Shall it not shame us," he asks, "while every soldier of the world daily hazards his life for his sovereign, if we, priests of the Lord, shrink from the battle of our King, who made all things out of nothing, who scrupled not to lay down His life for us, and who has promised us eternal rewards." In Hungary, twenty years later, the rule had not made greater way than this, that a council under Ladislaus prohibited second marriages among the clergy, but allowed to married presbyters a time of indulgence, "on account of the bond of peace and the unity of the Holy Ghost, until the paternal authority of the apostolic see should have been consulted on the subject." England, ruled at this time by the Conqueror, Gregory did not attempt; with that judgment and discrimination which he united to vigour, he waited for the influence of the precedent which he was introducing elsewhere. Yet even a few years after this the council of Winchester enacted that no married persons should be admitted into orders, though it passed a decree that parish priests who had wives already might retain them; which showed what already was the silent and indirect effect of Gregory's energetic proceedings in the empire. Eventually, the Anglican Church gave its adhesion to the principle of clerical celibacy even more completely than the Church of France.

But at the time Gregory seemed to have success in no quarter, and not the least vexatious opposition was offered him in his own city. Guibert, who had in the time of Alexander been the Imperial Chancellor of Italy, and the supporter of the intruder Cadalous, was at this time Archbishop of Ravenna, having been appointed by the mediation of the Empress Agnes, just at the close of Alexander's life. Alexander himself had seen through the

insincerity of his professed repentance, and was reluctant to consecrate him; but Hildebrand, it is said, trusted him and pleaded for him. Upon this, Alexander, with a prescient spirit, said, "I indeed am about to be dissolved; the time of my departure is at hand; but thou shalt feel his bitterness." The prophecy was not long in finding its fulfilment, and he eventually became anti-pope in Gregory's later years.

"He put himself at the head of that party in Rome who were either alarmed by Gregory's rigour, or conceived themselves aggrieved by his measures of reform; attaching to himself the relatives and friends of the married clergy, as well as those many members of the sacerdotal body who had resigned their benefices in preference to adopting a life of celibacy. And there were other classes whose habits and imagined interests had been, by the reforming pontiff, violently interfered with. To the Church of St. Peter belonged more than sixty officers of the class called 'Mansionarii.' They were married laymen, many of dissolute habits; and it was their custom,—such had been the disgraceful laxity of the times,—mitred and dressed in sacerdotal robes, to keep constant watch at all the altars of the Church, excepting only the high altar itself, to proffer, as priests, their services to the simple laity, who came from distant parts of Italy, and to receive their oblations. Relieving each other, they occupied the Church day and night, and, as though not content with the blasphemous profanations now mentioned, disgraced the holy place during the hours of darkness by robberies and licentiousness of the most infamous kind. Nor was it without great difficulty that Gregory, even in his own city, could put an end to this crying abuse, and replace, at the altars, these impious laymen, by priests canonically ordained. The cardinals themselves were wont, in the same Church, to disgrace their office by celebrating the Holy Eucharist at irregular hours for the sake of gain; and Gregory's interference, to put a stop to this abuse by wholesome regulations, is described as having excited against him much odium among certain classes of his flock."—vol. ii. pp. 42-43.

Gregory was at this time about sixty years of age, and tried by cares and by a life of rigid mortification from his boyhood, he gave way in health, and it was thought that he was dying. He recovered however; a circumstance, he says himself, "rather for sorrow than for joy. For our soul was tending towards, and with all desire panting for, that country, where He, who observes our labour and our sorrow, prepares for the weary refreshment and repose. But we were yet reserved to our accustomed toils, our infinite anxieties; reserved to suffer, as it were, each hour the pangs of travail, while we feel ourselves unable to save, by any steersmanship, the Church which seems almost foundering before our eyes."

Well might Gregory say that he was reserved for something for he had not yet reached his celebrated struggle with Henry

which Fox the martyrologist, if no one else, has made familiar to Protestant ears, and which is the last and longest passage of his history which we propose to trace.

In 1074 he had waged his battle with the clergy; that was enough for one year; but in the very next spring he opened his assault upon the emperor. No wonder a mind of such incessant energy should complain of nothing but weariness and disappointment; and this seems to have been the habitual feeling under which he went to his work. "Often," he says, "at this point of time, have I implored the Lord, either to remove me from this present life, or to benefit, through me, our common Mother; and yet has he not hitherto removed me from tribulation, nor, as I had hoped, made my life profitable to her in whose chains He has bound me. Vast is the grief, wide-spreading the affliction, which encompasses me. Contemplating east, south, north, I perceive scarcely any bishops lawfully admitted to their office, and leading lives conformable to their sacred character. Nor do I find among the secular princes any who prefer God's honour to their own, or righteousness to gain. Those nations among whom I dwell, the Romans, Lombards, and Normans, I conceive, as I often declare to them, to be in some sense worse than Jews or Pagans. And turning inwards, I find myself so laden with the burden of my own doings, that no hope of salvation remains to me but in the sole mercy of Christ. Did I not trust to attain to a better life and to do service to Holy Church, I would on no account remain in Rome; in which city it has been by compulsion, God is my witness, that I have dwelt these twenty years. Whence it comes to pass, that, between this grief daily renewed in me, and the hope which, alas, is too long deferred, I live as it were in death, shaken by a thousand storms. And I await His coming who has bound me with His chains, led me back to Rome against my will, and girt me round with countless difficulties." Such were the feelings under which he got ready for his greatest exploit.

It is hardly to our purpose to go into the Pope's quarrel with the emperor in its early stages; it turned principally on Henry's profligate life, his simoniacal appointments, and his cruelties and perfidies towards his subjects. Besides this the Pope claimed the right of investiture, feeling that from its very form it was undeniably of an ecclesiastical, not a secular nature; that when exercised by laymen, it was necessarily connected with simony, and involved the principle that the Church was the creature of the State. We will but say that Alexander, at a council held about two months before his death, had excommunicated five of Henry's profligate favourites, and had even, as some say, sent a message to Henry himself, to appear before the chair of St. Peter and

defend himself against the charge of simony and other offences. On Gregory's accession, the new Pope made friendly overtures to him, and the young king, being in great difficulties with his subjects, accepted them with much profession of humility and repentance. "Smitten in some degree, through God's mercy, with compunction," he said, "and returning to ourselves, we confess our past transgressions and throw ourselves on your paternal indulgence, hoping in the Lord to obtain the boon of absolution from your apostolical authority. Criminal we have been, and unhappy, partly through the alluring instincts of youth, partly through the license of unbridled power, partly through the seductive guidances of others. We have not only invaded the property of churches, but have sold to persons infected with the gall of simony the churches themselves; but now, unable without your authority to reform the abuses of the churches, we implore alike your counsel and your aid, in this as in all things. Your command is, in all things, of authority." Subsequently to this, Henry's mother, sent by Gregory, undertook a journey to him with the papal legate; he complied with their demands, made open profession of his simony and other offences, assisted them in degrading the simoniacal bishops, and received absolution at their hands. But, shortly afterwards, his fortunes taking a favourable turn, he was released from the necessity of keeping terms with the Pope; and recalling the excommunicated nobles to his court, he provided for himself counsellors whose personal feeling would encourage him in courses directly opposed to the wishes and the principles of Gregory. His tone and conduct, in consequence, underwent an entire change. He appointed bishops to the churches of Fermo and Spoleto without consulting Gregory, and, in spite of his promise, to Milan; and the preponderance which he thus gave to the anti-papal party in northern Italy was extended by Guibert of Ravenna into the south by a correspondence with Robert Guiscard, who happened at this time to be under papal ban. On the other hand the Saxons, who had been cruelly oppressed by Henry, had risen in arms and been reduced, appealed to Gregory for protection for their bishop whom Henry had perfidiously seized, deposed, plundered and imprisoned; and Gregory, answering to their appeal, took the strong step of not only demanding the liberation of the bishop, but, as Alexander is said to have done before him, of summoning Henry himself to appear before the apostolic tribunal, to clear himself of the charges which had been brought against him.

"All things are double, one against another." Every power, every form of government, every influence, strong as it may be, has its natural remedy or match, by which it is prevented from

doing all things at its will. In constitutional governments they appeal to the law; in absolute monarchies they rise; in military despotisms they assassinate. James the Second is opposed by forms of law; Louis of France by jaqueries; Paul of Russia is strangled. And then the one antagonist which from the beginning has been opposed to the spiritual weapons of the Church, is no other than that very intellectual power, material force, "the logic of kings." So it was on this occasion. Guibert of Ravenna has the reputation of being concoctor of a plot, with the privity of Henry and Robert Guiscard, which developed itself as follows:—Cencius was the instrument of it, a bold and profligate man, being a member of the powerful family which was in possession of the castle of St. Angelo, and had been the main support of the anti-pope Cadalous in his struggle with Alexander.

"The night of Christmas Eve, 1075, was gloomy and tempestuous; the torrents of rain, according to Paul of Bernried, were such, as to present a lively image of the general deluge; and although Gregory, according to custom, celebrated the Holy Eucharist at midnight, in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, the building, instead of being as usual thronged with worshippers, was comparatively silent and deserted; few venturing to leave their homes in weather so inclement.

"Gregory and his clergy had partaken of the holy elements, and were engaged in distributing them to the laity, when, on a sudden, Cencius and his confederates burst in arms into the Church. Interrupting the holy ceremonial, they seized the pontiff at the altar; one of the ruffians, aiming a blow with a sword at his head, inflicted a serious wound on his forehead; and the rest then dragged him, amid insults and blows, from the precincts of the sanctuary. He preserved a perfect composure, lifting up his eyes to heaven, but neither struggling nor speaking, while these abandoned wretches thus vented on him their fury. They stripped him of his pallium and chasuble, and then binding him,—still clad in his alb and stole,—behind a ruffian on horseback, they hurried him to one of the towers, already mentioned, of Cencius; where preparations had been made for bearing him at once beyond the walls of Rome. But this latter part of their project the conspirators were not able to succeed in accomplishing. Clamours, even louder than those of the now abating storm, soon rang through the awakened city. For a time the populace was agitated by a distracting uncertainty respecting their pastor's fate. An anxious search was made for him in all directions, and the gates of Rome were occupied by soldiery, to prevent his being carried, by any contrivance, beyond them. But, at length, the throngs assembled on the Capitoline Hill were informed of the place of his confinement. On the instant, they rushed, with wild and dissonant cries, toward the tower of Cencius, driving before them those by whom their progress was opposed. And the first glimpse of dawn showed, to the conspirators within it, their enemies, provided with ladders, catapults, and every species of engine then used in assaults, and preparing for an immediate and vigorous attack.

"A man attached to Gregory, and a noble matron of Rome, had contrived to follow the pontiff to the scene of his imprisonment, and there did all in their power to alleviate his sufferings; the former, warming his numb and frozen feet by chafing them with fur, and the latter endeavouring, by the best means in her power, to dress his bleeding wound. But in these pious cares they were interrupted by the sister of Cencius, who, abandoned as her brother, reviled the illustrious prisoner in the most violent terms; while one of her partisans, drawing a sword, threatened to strike off, on the instant, his head. But the scene was now to change. A lance, or dart, from without, pierced this wretch's throat, and laid him breathless on the ground. The walls of the tower began to totter before the machines of the assailants, and Cencius, foiled and confounded, felt that he had no resource remaining, but to throw himself before his august prisoner, and to pray for life and pardon. Throughout this scene of confusion and danger, Gregory preserved the dignity of his character. 'Thy injuries against myself,' he said, 'I forgive,' but those against our Lord, His Mother, His Apostles, and His whole Church, demand an expiation. Go, in the first place, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and then, if thou mayest return alive, present thyself among us, such in act and thought, as thou mayest, in some way, obtain the grace of reconciliation from Almighty God. And as thou hast been hitherto, to all sons of the Church, an example of subversion, be one, for the future, of conversion.'

"The pontiff then, at the request of Cencius, approached a window, and, showing himself to the populace, he entreated them by signs to desist from the attack. But his gestures were unfortunately misunderstood, and the multitude imagined that their spiritual father was encouraging their efforts, and imploring their speedy succour. The attack was, therefore, carried on with redoubled fury. The walls of the tower soon gave way before their exertions, and Gregory, borne in triumph from amid the ruins to the church from which he had been torn, there concluded the holy service in which he had been interrupted, amid the enthusiastic rejoicings of the people.

"Cencius, pursued by the execrations of his countrymen, with difficulty escaped from their fury, and fled, with his principal confederates to Germany."—vol. ii. p. 81—85.

This attempt then failed—but the measures of Gregory proceeded. About the same time that Cencius was playing his part in Rome, the Pope's legates on their part appeared before Henry with his summons, warning him at the same time, that, did he not appear, a sentence of excommunication would issue against him. Henry dismissed them with ridicule and insult; and since force had failed, he resolved to attack their master with his own weapons, and summoned in haste a council of the German Church at Worms for Septuagesima Sunday, January 24, with the view of obtaining from it the condemnation and deposition of Gregory. It was attended by a numerous assemblage of bishops and abbots; and when the session was opened, Hugo Candidus, who

played so conspicuous a part in Gregory's election, and who had vacillated from side to side several times, stood forward as his accuser. He laid before the council a variety of forged letters, purporting to come from different archbishops and bishops, and from the cardinals, senate, and people of Rome, filled with complaints of Gregory's conduct, and with entreaties for his expulsion from his see and the appointment of a successor. Then, as though in explanation of these epistles, Hugo read a document (which seems to have been subsequently the foundation of Benno's work) professing to give an account of Gregory's life, and filled with the most unfounded and incredible calumnies. It insisted on the baseness of his origin, and described his whole life, before and after his election, which was stated to have been simoniacal, as a tissue of crimes, among which were enumerated murder, necromancy, the profanation of the Holy Eucharist, and the worship of the devil. In consequence, after two days' consultation, without proposing even that Gregory should be heard in his defence, the council decreed, by its own local act, that he was no longer Pope, and presented to each bishop the following formula for subscription:—"I, N., bishop of the city of N., abjure from this hour all subjection and obedience to Hildebrand, and will never more account or style him Pope." All the bishops present seem to have signed. Messengers were forthwith despatched into Lombardy with the news; the Lombard bishops met forthwith in council at Piacenza, and not only subscribed to the act of Worms, but bound themselves by a solemn oath upon the Gospels never more to recognize Gregory as Pope, or to pay him obedience in that capacity. Roland, a priest of the Church of Parma, was charged with the perilous duty of bearing a copy of the acts of both councils to Rome, where he arrived in the second week in Lent, just when the council was assembled to which Henry had been summoned. Much as we have quoted from Mr. Bowden, we must here, as elsewhere, be allowed to prefer his vivid description to any words we could put together.

"The council being assembled, and the echoes of the solemn strain, 'Veni Creator Spiritus,' having scarcely died away amid the holy aisles of the Lateran, Roland suddenly stepped forward before the pontiff and his prelate. (p. 95). . . . Addressing his speech to Gregory, 'The king,' he said, 'and the united bishops, as well of Germany as of Italy, transmit thee this command,—Descend without delay from the throne of St. Peter, and abandon the usurped government of the Roman Church, for to such honours should none aspire, unsanctioned by their general choice, and by the approval of the emperor.' And then, ere the assembled prelates and clergy had recovered from their astonishment, the audacious envoy looked round upon them, and thus addressed them collec-

tively :—‘ To you, brethren, it is commanded, that you do, at the feast of Pentecost, present yourselves before the king, my master, to receive a Pope and a father from his hands. The pretended pastor before you is detected to be a ravening wolf.’

“ ‘ Seize him ! ’ cried John, Bishop of Porto, a prelate of holy and exalted character, who could no longer contain his indignation. The prefect of the city rushed forward, attended by the guards and attendants of the council. Swords were brandished, even in that holy place ; and the blood of Roland would, on the moment, have expiated his temerity, had not Gregory himself forced his way into the crowd, and restrained, though with difficulty, the fury of his adherents. Having at length succeeded in obtaining comparative tranquillity ; the pontiff received from the prisoner the documents which he had been commissioned to deliver ; and then, imploring the continued silence of the assembly, he proceeded to read aloud, with his usual composure, the acts of the councils of Worms and Piacenza, and the following extraordinary epistle :—

“ ‘ Henry, not by usurpation, but by the holy ordinance of God, king, to Hildebrand, no longer the Pope, but the false monk.

“ ‘ A greeting like this hast thou for thy confusion deserved ; thou, who hast left no order of the Church untouched, but hast brought upon each confusion, not honour,—cursing, not blessing. To speak but of a few of thy most distinguished deeds,—the rulers of the holy Church, the archbishops, bishops, and presbyters, thou hast not only not feared, seeing that they are the Lord’s anointed, to touch ; but, as though they were servants who know not what their lord doeth, thou hast trampled them under thy feet. Thou hast obtained favour with the vulgar by their humiliation ; and hast thought that they know nothing, and that thou alone knewest all things. Yet this knowledge of thine thou hast used for the purpose, not of edification, but of destruction, insomuch that we believe the blessed Gregory, whose name thou hast assumed, to have spoken prophetically of thee, when he said, “ By the abundance of subjects, the mind of him who is set over them is puffed up, for he supposes that he excels all in knowledge, when he finds that he excels all in power.” ’ ”—vol. ii. p. 95—99.

We wish we had room to continue this most exciting scene, which ends in a majestic address of Gregory to the council ; however, we cannot refrain from giving the close of this speech, and the termination of the meeting.

“ ‘ Now, therefore, brethren,’ he concluded, ‘ it behoves us to draw forth the avenging sword. Now must we smite the enemy of God and of His Church, that the bruised head, now haughtily erect against the foundation of the faith, and of all the Churches, may recoil ; that, according to the sentence pronounced against him in the first days of his pride, upon his belly he may go and eat the dust. “ Fear not,” saith the Lord, “ little flock ; for it is your Father’s good pleasure to give you the kingdom.” It is enough that ye have borne thus long with the adver-

sary. Ye have warned him sufficiently and well. Now let him be made to feel that his conscience has been seared.'

"Here he paused, and appeared to wait the opinion of the prelates around him. But his suspense was not of long duration; the assembly, arising as one man, seemed eager to support him by the testimony of their unanimous approval. They called on him to wield, without delay, the high powers with which he was invested, and to pronounce the sentence of the Church against the blasphemer, the despoiler, the tyrant, the apostate. 'Pronounce,' they cried, 'the doom, by which he may himself be crushed, and from which others, for ages to come, may take warning. Draw forth the sword!—inflict judgment!—let the righteous rejoice when he seeth the vengeance,—let him wash his footsteps in the blood of the ungodly.'"—vol. ii. pp. 104, 105.

The next day, in the presence of 110 prelates and of the Empress Agnes, whose sense of duty overcome the affections of nature, he pronounced sentence in form upon the German and Lombard bishops, and above all upon Henry, whom he declared excommunicated from the Church and suspended from the enjoyment of his throne.

In these transactions, we see on both sides what we must account a confusion of the rights of Church and State; the emperor in council deposing the Pope, and the Pope deposing the emperor. Mr. Bowden has some just remarks on the subject, and traces it to the feudalism of the day, which acknowledged but one standard of rank in the community, and forced all powers and offices to measure themselves by it. As in Russia, it is said, that men are only recognized as soldiers, and the clergy take rank as colonels or captains, so in the eleventh century Gregory was forced to place himself in direct relation to the emperor, and take precedence either above him or beneath him, and with this alternative he put himself above him, as the nearest approximation to the truth. And in like manner the emperor, not the present Henry only, but his father before him, and Conrad his grandfather, not to say the Carlovingians, had placed themselves above the Church, because they were supreme in temporals and reduced all offices to a common class, just as a naturalist of this day in despair ranks a whale among the mammalia.

"The Christian doctrine, that the Almighty Head of the Church 'ruleth over all the kingdoms of the earth, and giveth them to whomsoever he will,' was confounded with the idea that His imagined sole vicar and representative below was invested with, what the language of the times entitled, a paramount lordship or suzerainty over the individual thrones of Christendom. Standing in the place of St. Peter, his successor was regarded as though clothed with an authority, similar in nature to that of kings, though exceeding theirs in extent; as occupying, in relation to them, a position analogous to that which they occupied in

reference to their feudatory nobles; the great truth of the Church's substantive and, in her own province, supreme authority, being thus borne witness to, though in connexion with the then generally prevalent error, which represented her as forming a certain definite member, a component necessary department of the system of feudal society."—vol. i. pp. 330, 331.

On the present occasion Mr. Bowden considers it a cause of thankfulness that Gregory, with all the incidental defects of his theological system, was in the chair of St. Peter. He considers that the success of the Imperialists would have been the immediate triumph of simony, licentiousness, and the other crying evils of the time, and would have tended to make that triumph perpetual. On the other hand Gregory was not only engaged in vindicating what he considered his divine authority, but an ecclesiastical principle essential to the independence and well-being of the Church. The real question was, whether the Church was or was not a creature of the State? Whether she had or had not temporal rights was an excrescence upon the main question; and she needed a champion, such as, through God's providence, she found, who scorned either to be swayed by menaces, or to be bribed by the promise of a temporary peace, into the compromise of her essential principles.

Thus the contest opened; Gregory had on his side many of the leading nobles of Germany, the Saxons, to a certain extent the Swabians, the great mass of the regular and a considerable portion of the secular clergy. And Henry was supported by the Rhenish provinces, by the large towns, as Worms, now rising into some degree of commercial opulence, by a number of the nobility, who had felt or feared the papal censures, and the vast body of anti-reforming clergy. It was a moment of extreme excitement, when each of the contending parties had defied his antagonist, and waited to see how the defiance was received by Christendom at large, with whom eventually lay the decision.

As to Henry himself, however, he seems to have thought he had done every thing when he had secured the synodal acts of Worms and Piacenza, as if they were to work their effect as a matter of course; he was astounded therefore at the intelligence that the old man, whom he was resisting, far from crouching, had vigorously smitten him in turn with the ban of the Church. For a moment the unfortunate prince seemed overpowered with agitation; then he treated the subject with apparent indifference; then he gave orders that Gregory himself should be publicly excommunicated in turn. He committed this office to Pibo, Bishop of Toul; but Pibo, together with another bishop, set off in the night and left the king to go to the cathedral by himself, where the

bishop of the place (Utrecht) pronounced the sentence. The next thing he heard was, that the German prelates, who had been denounced by Gregory together with himself, were crossing the Alps to make their peace with him; next, the secular princes, who had the charge of the Saxon nobles and bishops, whom Henry had faithlessly seized, having been already shocked at the irreverence of Henry's proceedings in the Council of Worms, on hearing the papal sentence against him, let go their prisoners and sent them off to Saxony. On their arrival there, the Saxons rose in arms, appeared before the strongholds, which the king, in violation of his promise, had rebuilt in their country, took them by assault or capitulation, and then proceeded to resume the lands which had been seized by the royal favourites.

An event occurred which increased the dismay: William, Bishop of Utrecht, has been already mentioned as excommunicating Gregory in the cathedral. He repeated the sentence several times the same Easter, calling the Pope, perjured, an adulterer, and a false apostle. A month had not passed before he was seized with a violent illness, which carried him off in a few days. In his last moments he cried out that he had forfeited life both here and hereafter, and forbade his friends to pray for him after death as one destined to perdition. These facts were exaggerated; in addition, stories were circulated that, as he breathed his last sigh, his cathedral and his sovereign's palace were struck with lightning. Other deaths too in the king's party about the same time were interpreted by William's.

Henry appointed a diet at Worms for Whitsuntide; not one of his chief nobles attended; he postponed it to St. Peter's day at Mentz, even then but a few obeyed the summons. Udo, the venerated Archbishop of Treves, had gone to Rome and received absolution. On his return he refused to hold any intercourse with the Archbishops of Mentz and Cologne. Henry he would only approach for the purpose of counselling; he would not sit at table with him or join in prayer. The more religious members of the king's household withdrew themselves, and withstood Henry's most urgent intreaties to return.

Henry next led a force against the Saxons, and was repelled with loss. At Gregory's suggestion his principal nobles held a solemn diet of the empire at Worms in the autumn; it was very numerously attended; even Siegfried of Mentz obtained papal absolution and attended; the patriarch of Aquileia and Bishop of Padua appeared as legates from the holy see. Henry sent the humblest messages to the diet in vain: at last they consented to treat with him on the terms that his continuing to reign should be referred to the Pope; that until he could procure reconciliation,

he should live as a private individual, neither entering church nor exercising any royal functions; that he should separate from all excommunicate persons; and that if at the end of a year his own excommunication was not reversed, his right to empire should be lost for ever. A council was appointed for the beginning of January, to meet at Augsburg, over which Gregory himself was to preside, and then Henry was to be reconciled. Henry wished to come to Italy, but Gregory forbade him. His anxiety for release increased; he could not bear the suspense. Regardless therefore of Gregory's prohibition, of the season, which was unusually severe, and of the difficulty of crossing the Alps in the winter, he set out to find the Pope in Italy. Mr. Bowden shall set him forward on his journey.

"The winter which closed the year 1076 was a season of unusual severity: the Rhine being frozen over from Martinmas almost to the beginning of April, 1077. The difficulties therefore of a journey across the Alps, at the time of Henry's expedition, must, under any circumstances, have been great; and the auspices under which the unfortunate monarch set forth were such as to render the undertaking in his case peculiarly arduous. Deprived of his friends and of his resources, it was not in his power to make any proper provision for the journey. No could he venture to prosecute his way along any of the more direct tract which led from his German dominions into Italy; as Rudolf, Welf, and Berthold, who wished to retain him in Germany, sedulously watched the mountain passes of Swabia, Bavaria, and Carinthia. But Henry felt too strongly the danger of furnishing his enemies with any new pretext for setting him aside, to think of giving up the attempt, desperate as it might be, to procure a timely absolution.

"A few days, therefore, before the Christmas which closed the year 1076, the king put himself in motion from Spire. His wife and infant child accompanied his steps, and, whatever meaner followers may have formed his escort, it appears that only one person of gentle blood—and he not distinguished by rank or possessions—attended the fallen sovereign. The many princely and noble vassals who had thronged, in other days, his palace, now looked on him whom they had once courted and flattered, with hatred or contempt; nor was one of those whom he addressed on the subject found to return a favourable answer to his urgent entreaties for assistance on his journey. And the attached retainers and friends, with whom he had been compelled so recently to part, were now wandering across the different passes of the Alps, on errands similar to his own; prevented by dread, as well of the Pope as of the nobles, from making the journey in his company. He set forward however, and taking his way through Burgundy, halted to observe the festival of Christmas at Besançon. And thence, passing the Jura, he proceeded to Vevay on the shore of the lake of Geneva Even the valleys of the Alps, when Henry began to wind his way among them, were white with snow and slippery with ice. Peasants of the country, whose service he had hired, went before him, and cleared, as best they might, a pre

precipitous and rugged road for the advance of the royal party. As the travellers ascended towards the higher regions of the pass, the difficulties of this process increased, of course, with every step. Happily, however, no serious accident occurred: and after long toils, the monarch and his little train found themselves on the summit of a ridge, a descent from which would lead them into Italy. But this descent appeared in prospect more formidable than any thing which they had previously accomplished. The whole of the precipitous mountain-slope formed one sheet of ice, on which no foot, it seemed, could for a moment maintain its position. The descent, however, was necessarily attempted. Henry and the men of the party crawled carefully down on their hands and knees, placing their feet on whatever points of support they could find; and he, whose footing unfortunately failed him, rolled far away into the snowy depths below; from which it was often a matter of great difficulty to extricate him. The queen, her child, and her female attendants, were, by the experienced peasants, lowered down the slope enveloped in skins of cattle; and the whole party reached at length the bottom in safety; though of their horses—which were either drawn down the descent with their legs tied together, or lowered on some rude kinds of machines constructed for the purpose—many died, and many more were rendered unfit for further service. The party were, however, able to proceed with their journey; and Henry arrived, without further obstacle, in the plains of Lombardy.”—vol. ii. p. 161—164.

When the penitent arrived in Italy, it was at once spread abroad that he had come to take vengeance on the Pope. People recollected or had been told of Henry III.’s visitation of the papal see thirty years before, when a council was held at Sutri, and Gregory, the sixth of that name, was made to abdicate. Accordingly, nobles, prelates, and warriors thronged to greet him, and his crowded and brilliant court formed a strange contrast to the neglect, or rather aversion, which he had had to encounter on the other side the Alps. But Henry was not so dazzled with the scenes which now surrounded him to forget those which he had left. He asked where the Pope was, and finding he was at Canossa, a fortress of the Appennines, belonging to the Countess Matilda, (whither Gregory had taken refuge on the rumour of Henry’s having come at the head of a formidable force), he betook himself thither.

While he is on his way thither, we must take the opportunity of commemorating Matilda, called the Great Countess. She inherited Tuscany from her mother, and was the enthusiastic friend and servant of Gregory; to him and to his principles her energies, influence and treasures were dedicated. Her talents and learning were as remarkable as her rank and her devotion. Amid the various occupations which her extensive territories occasioned, she found time and opportunity to become the encourager, and, in some degree, the restorer, of ancient literature. She was acquainted

with the more recent languages spoken in France and Germany as well as in her own country. She was active and energetic in the enforcement of justice and the maintenance of her authority; nor was she unequal to the task of eliciting the military resources of her territory, and bringing well disciplined armies into the field. She was munificently charitable to the poor; systematically kind and hospitable to the exile and to the stranger; and the foundress or benefactress of a variety of churches or conventual institutions. Throughout her eventful life she never suffered secular matters to interfere with the frequency or regularity of her exercises of devotion; and in adversity, of which she was allotted her share, she found her consolation in the society of holy men and the perusal of holy Scripture. "Such," says Mr. Bowden, "was the Great Countess; such was she, who, too proud or too humble to recapitulate the roll of her titles, was wont to subscribe herself,—‘Matilda, by the grace of God what I am;’" and at the present moment she was especially fitted to undertake the mediation between Gregory and Henry, being a relative of Henry as well as the host of Gregory.

"Towards Canossa, then, Henry bent his steps, accompanied by his recently formed train of Italian followers. His faithful German adherents, who had, in the preceding month, set out to cross the Alps by different paths, had encountered on the journey a variety of difficulties and sufferings. Dietrich, Bishop of Verdun, was captured by Adelbert, Count of Calw, and plundered of the sums which he had, with much trouble, collected to meet the expenses of his journey. Rupert of Bamberg, being seized by Welf while traversing the Bavarian territory, was kept in strict ward from Christmas until the feast of St. Bartholomew the following year. But the rest of Henry's excommunicated supporters, having surmounted the dangers of their journey, and made good the way into Italy, appeared before Canossa, while the king himself was yet on his way, and humbly presented themselves before the Pope as supplicants for his absolution. 'From those,' said Gregory, 'who rightly acknowledge and bewail their sin, forgiveness cannot be withheld. To petitioners must, however,' he continued, 'submit to the cauterizing process which is needful for the healing of their wounds, that they may not, by too lightly obtaining absolution, be led too lightly to regard the sin which they have committed by disobedience to apostolical authority. Prelates and lay-nobles alike professed their readiness to undergo whatever penance their spiritual father might think proper to impose; and the former were, by his directions, confined in separate cells with scanty supplies of food, while, to the latter, penances were assigned of a severity proportioned to the age and strength of each individual. And when he had thus tried them for several days, Gregory summoned them again before him, and after mildly rebuking them for their past conduct, and admonishing them against such demeanour in future, declared them severally absolved, warning them at the same time, anxiously and repeatedly, against holdi

any communion with their imperial master, until he also should have given satisfaction to the apostolic see; till that should happen, they were to be permitted to hold colloquy with him, only for the purpose of inducing him, by their persuasions, to abandon the error of his ways.

"At length the principal offender appeared in person before Canossa, and pitched his camp without the walls of the fortress."—vol. ii. pp. 167, 68.

The humiliation to which Gregory put the king himself has always been severely animadverted upon, and has done his character much harm with posterity; but Mr. Bowden bids us recollect that severer penances were not at all uncommon at that time, and that it is very unfair to measure them by the standard of drawing-room propriety, and the judgment of an age of kid gloves and Naples soap. It was a most uncomfortable thing to be kept shivering in the cold from morning to night, and likely to cause rheumatism, of which we have no intention at all of speaking lightly; but Henry III., the king's father, would habitually, before presenting himself in royal robes upon his throne, submit in private to a self-imposed scourging. The magnificent and luxurious Boniface of Tuscany, Matilda's father, submitted on one occasion to a similar discipline before the altar of St. Mary's at Pomposa, at the suggestion, if not at the hands, of his spiritual adviser, as a penance for some simoniacal transactions; and Godfrey of Lorraine, Matilda's stepfather, in remorse for the burning of the cathedral of Verdun in the course of his warlike operations, not only contributed largely to its rebuilding, but caused himself to be scourged in public, and as publicly took part in the work of building, in the capacity of a common labourer. Such facts as these must be recollected when we read the following extraordinary scene:—

"It was on the morning of the 25th of January, 1077, while the frost reigned in all its intensity, and the ground was white with snow, that the dejected Henry, barefooted, and clad in the usual garb of penance, in a garment of white linen, ascended alone to the rocky fortress of Canossa, and entered its outer gate. The place was surrounded by three walls, within the two outer of which the imperial penitent was led, while the portals of the third or inner wall of the fortress were still closed against him. Here he stood, a miserable spectacle, exposed to cold and hunger throughout the day, vainly hoping, with each succeeding hour, that Gregory would consider his penance as sufficient, and his fault as atoned for. The evening however came, and he retired, humbled and dispirited, to return to his station with the returning light.

"On a second day, and on a third, the unhappy prince was still seen standing, starved and miserable, in the court of Canossa, from the morning until the evening. All in the castle, except the Pope, bewailed his condition, and with tears implored his forgiveness; it was said, even in

Gregory's presence, that his conduct was more like wanton tyranny than apostolic severity. But the austere pontiff continued obstinately deaf to all entreaties. At length, Henry's patience failed him, and taking refuge in an adjacent chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas, he there besought, with tears, the intercession of the aged abbot of Cluni; Matilda, who was present, seconded the king's entreaty, but the abbot, turning to her, replied, 'It is thou alone who canst undertake this business.' And Henry, upon the word, fell upon his knees before his kinswoman, and besought her in the most impassioned manner, once more to exert her potent intercession. She promised to use her utmost endeavours, and returned into the castle; and Gregory, feeling that he had now sufficiently vindicated his authority, relaxed at length his rigour, suffering the unfortunate king still barefooted, and in his linen garment, to be brought into his presence on the fourth day of his penance.

"The scene, as the suppliant king approached the pontiff, must have been singularly striking. The youthful and vigorous Henry, of lofty stature and commanding features, thus humbling himself before the small, insignificant, and now probably withered, figure of Gregory VII. must have afforded a striking type of that abasement of physical before moral power,—of the sword before the crosier,—which the great struggle then in progress was fated to accomplish."—vol. ii. p. 174—176.

Having brought our narrative to this critical point, we must break it off abruptly. What followed upon this, what an immediate triumph to the Pope, what subsequent reverses, what eventual success after his day to his principles; how Henry lapsed again, and how Gregory was at length forced to abandon Rome and died an exile at Salerno, for these and a multitude of interesting details we must refer the reader to the work itself which we are reviewing. As also for the account of the wonderfully large range of action which Gregory's labours embraced, and the multitude of Churches and States with which he held negotiation among which were Constantinople, Hippo, Spain, England, Denmark, Russia, and Hungary. On two occasions also we find him directing the attention of the Church to the project of a crusade to the Holy Land, which was taken up in the next generation. But all this we must omit; and shall end this lengthened, but we hope not uninteresting narrative, with Mr. Bowden's account of Gregory's death.

"He moved, shortly after his final departure from Rome, to Salerno where, under the efficient protection of Robert Guiscard, he was enabled to repose in security; and where, while he still kept a watchful eye upon the troublous scenes of the world around him, he sought a solace for his sorrows in assiduous devotion, and in continual meditation on the will of God. As early as in January, 1085, he perceived symptoms of the exhaustion of his powers; the natural consequence of years, and of the arduous and unremitting labours and anxieties, in which he had been long engaged. During the succeeding months, his debility increased

and in May, it became evident to all around him, that, from the sick bed on which he was laid, he was doomed never to rise again. Aware of his approaching end, he summoned around him the cardinals and bishops, who, faithful to his cause, or rather to his principles, had attended him to Salerno. He spoke to them of the events of his past life; and, while he disclaimed any right to glory in any thing which he had done, he acknowledged the satisfaction which he derived from the thought that his course had been guided by principle, by a zeal for the right, and by an abhorrence of evil. His auditors, plunged in sincere sorrow, expressed to him their melancholy anticipations of the fate of the Church, when deprived of his guiding hand. 'But I,' said he, with eyes and hands upraised to heaven, 'am mounting thitherward; and with supplications the most fervent, will I commend your cause to the goodness of the Almighty.'

"Being solicited to express his opinion with respect to the choice of a successor, he mentioned the names of Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino; of Otho, Bishop of Ostia; and of Hugo, Bishop of Lyons; suggesting, as a reason for giving priority to the former of the three, his presence at the moment in Italy.

"Three days before his death, on the question being brought before him of absolving the persons whom he had excommunicated, he replied, 'With the exception of Henry, styled by his followers the king; of Guibert, the usurping claimant of the Roman See; and of those who, by advice or assistance, favour their evil and ungodly views, I absolve and bless all men, who unfeignedly believe me to possess this power, as the representative of St. Peter and St. Paul.' And then, addressing those around him, for some time, in the language of warning, he thus impressively concluded. 'In the name of the Almighty God, and by the power of His holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, I adjure you, recognize no one as my successor in the Roman see, who shall not have been duly elected and canonically ordained by Apostolic authority.'

"On the 25th of May, 1085, he peacefully closed his earthly career; just rallying strength, amid the exhaustion of his powers, to utter, with his departing breath, the words, 'I have loved justice and hated iniquity; and therefore I die in exile.'

"'In exile!' said a prelate who stood by his bed,—too late, however, as it would seem, to arrest the attention of the departing spirit,—'in exile thou canst not die! Vicar of Christ and His Apostles, thou hast received the nations for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.'"—vol. ii. pp. 322, 324.

Gregory thought he had failed; so it is; often a cause seems to decline as its champion grows in years, and to die in his death; but this is to judge hastily; others are destined to complete what he began. No man is given to see his work through. Man goes forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening, but the evening falls before it is done. There was One alone who began and finished and died.

ART. III.—1. *Editio Parisina altera, emendata et aucta.* Parisiis, apud Gaumes Fratres. 1837.

2. *Sancti Patris nostri Joannis Chrysostomi Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Homiliæ in Matthæum. Textum ad fidem Codicum MSS. et versionum emendavit* Fredericus Field, A.M. Collegii SS. Trinitatis a rege Hen. VIII. fundati unus e sodalitis. Cantabrigiæ in Officinâ Academicâ. J. J. Deighton; Londini, Rivington: Lipsiæ, J. A. G. Weigel. 1839.

EVERY student of theology must have found the increased demand there is at present for the works of the Fathers, as we know full well to our own cost. Every bookseller's catalogue tells the same tale; in fact it is a regular *argumentum ad crumenam*. Buyers of the works of the Fathers have of late years increased a hundred fold. Whether readers have multiplied in the same ratio is entirely another question; we wish it may be so, though we have doubts whether all are read which are bought. Even those ponderous tomes which are stored up in our public and college libraries often tell a sad tale by the thick dust which by year to year accumulates upon them whilst they rest alas! undisturbed and for this reason uninjured on the quiet shelves where they were originally placed. This is often made a popular argument against the utility of public libraries. To us it seems to tell a very different tale; each folio says—or at least would say if it could—"I am placed here for your instruction. I am ready to guide you in the search for wisdom. Why will you not profit by my author? Is there no one of this degenerate race who will reap the good fruit which is thus freely offered to him." There are even now some few with whom the books of our public libraries are as familiar friends; they daily enter the doors of our magnificent libraries, which yet will be able to receive ten or a hundred times their number, and thus the constant attendance of the few together with the silent reproach which we have taken the liberty of putting into the mouths of the works of the illustrious dead, is an incessant though silent witness against this book-buying but no book-reading age. Men are apt to say, Why are not these books dispersed abroad? What good do they with none but themselves to bear them company? If they were so dispersed, like the poor brothers of a pillaged monastery, we fear that they would advance no more, or even still less, the cause of learning. We should cease to be reproached by them in a body, as we now are; for when a man is enabled to purchase a volume to make it his own he views it rather as a slave who is bound to do him service—i

may be, only to minister to his pride or possessorship—rather than as a guide in the narrow path of learning, a revered instructor to whom he owes certain definite and fixed duties. But whilst there are many who when they have purchased a book, place it on their shelves and enter it in their catalogue, think if they keep it free from injury, daily admire its imposing exterior, and now and then, for mere lack of employment, skim over a page or so of its contents—though there are many who thus satisfy their conscience that they have discharged all the duties which they owe to their book, to its author, and to themselves, there are still some who are still scholars “poore” who would read the books, but have them not. Duty, it may be, has called them away from their quiet though not useless college life; and they who have lost the opportunity of consulting those lights of the ancient Church whose works our forefathers have most wisely and most munificently placed at their disposal when there, must hail with joy those more accessible reprints which are now appearing. Take for example the two which head our present article; the latter is most carefully edited by a fellow of Trinity College Cambridge, and is a most elegant specimen of typography, as well as patient labour, acute discrimination, and unwearied industry. Mr. Field has most nobly, we must use this expression, most nobly devoted himself to a cause for which few are fitted. The qualifications required in those who would engage, and that successfully, in such a work, are of no every-day nature. They will be found united in but few, and of the qualified still fewer will be found willing to undertake the task, often thankless, and almost always unpaid. An editor of the Fathers must look upon himself as one who is devoting his time and his powers to fulfil, as it were, the dying wish of a revered parent—they are our parents after the spirit. Though they sought not the applause of the world, they would have felt it to be a sin to hide the candle which had been given them under a bushel. And this, doubtless, was in part the cause why so much of their time was spent in commenting upon Holy Scripture; the light that they had could best shine when it was searching the darker parts of that which has been so felicitously compared to a great house full of chambers whose keys were appended to the wrong doors. In so commenting, they at once furnished their flocks with a clue to the true pasture which heretics had trampled down with their feet; and also have laid up a good provision for days, when the rites of the Church, which explained so much of Scripture, have vanished along with the living spirit of which they were the spontaneous produce. We have not hitherto been willing to walk in their light; every man has been forming a new-fangled lantern, too often a dark one, for his own guidance; but the day,

we trust, is now arising on the English Church, when, to use the admirable motto which the editors of the Library of the Fathers have prefixed to their translations—"Yet shall not thy teachers be removed into a corner any more, but thine eyes shall see thy teachers."—Isaiah, xxx. 20. Every one then who labours in the same portion of the One Vineyard into which Mr. Field has been sent, has the high privilege, if nothing more, of helping on this happy consummation. The fruits of the qualifications which he has brought to bear upon the subject are now to be seen. We shall hope to prove to the satisfaction of our readers that though he has undertaken but a small portion of the very voluminous works of St. Chrysostom, yet what he has done, he has done well, indeed so well as to enable us confidently to say, that this portion of the harvest has been safely gathered in; the gleanings he has left behind him can be but small indeed; those therefore who are preparing to gird themselves up to the same sort of labour, may think themselves happy in imitating his perseverance, whilst they venture forth on untrodden ground.

The former work is of still more magnificent pretensions; whether the promise held out in the title page is quite fulfilled in it, we shall soon hope to show in this article to those few, alas, those very few who do not at once throw aside an article of criticism from inability to understand it, or still worse from sheer idleness. It professes to be a republication of the entire genuine works of that most eloquent of the Greek Fathers St. John Chrysostom, to be all that Montfaucon's celebrated edition was, and we know not what else besides. On the title page we read of French, Italian, English and German MSS. which have been collated for the work; of corrections drawn from the text of Saville and Fronton-Ducæus; of numberless additions; of a new interpretation where need was; of prefaces, notices, and notes; of illustrations from various readings; of enrichments by a new life of the Father; catalogue of words and most copious indices.*

All this, be it worth what it may, was due to Bernard de Montfaucon the Benedictine monk. For the sesquipedalian words in which these labours are enumerated the modern editor is not responsible; but we then have another announcement printed in still larger type:—THE SECOND PARIS EDITION, AMENDED AND AUGMENTED.†

Now we propose to show in the sequel what force we can attack

* "Ad MSS. Codices: Gallicanos, Vaticanos, Anglicanos, Germanicosque; necnon ad Savillianam et Frontonianam editiones castigata, innumeris aucta, nova interpretatione ubi opus erat, præfationibus, monitis, notis, variis lectionibus illustrata; nova sancti doctoris vita, appendicibus, onomastico et copiosissimis indicibus completata."

† Editio Parisina altera, emendata et aucta.

to the words, "amended," "augmented." And, to avoid repetitions, we shall not do so under distinct heads, but throw together, by and by, some instances which, our readers will see, show at once the little trust to be put in these pretensions, for so we must call them, and the superiority of Mr. Field's labours in point of exactness. And as this will tell a tale about Montfaucon also, we shall take occasion to say somewhat of his labours, as the same passages will illustrate all the three points we have mentioned. These we shall go through in rather an inverse order for convenience-sake; and (after a word or two about the state of criticism first), shall enter upon them. This then shall be considered as one branch of our present article. Perhaps our readers may not think this a very tempting bill of fare, so we will wheedle them into reading this if we can, by promising to offer some remarks upon the character and use of *St. Chrysostom's Commentaries*, and wind up the whole with some reflections which will occur to us owing to the spirit which we think we have detected in some of Mr. Field's remarks: at any rate, if not in them, in the world at large they are rife enough; and as the present paper is to be taken up with detecting errors, and as this process tends to foster that spirit, we think we have sufficient reason for taking this opportunity of animadverting upon it. And this said, as the school phrase is, "*ad primum sic proceditur*."

Criticism has assumed a far more definite character in the present age than that which it possessed in the days of Montfaucon. It has been gradually elevated to the rank of a science. Its progress through different stages may be traced as clearly as that of any of the fine arts, through infancy, manhood, and, shall we say, decay. We are not qualified to judge whether it has already past the season of its greatest vigour; but still we must acknowledge, however humbling it may be to our own self-esteem as a nation, that there are many symptoms which render it far from improbable that such is the case. Scholarship is indeed now more generally diffused among the higher classes of Englishmen than at any former period. We have more young men, (thanks to the system which, in spite of all outcry, is still pursued at our universities), who at the time when they *go out* (as it is said) *into the world*, are above the line of mediocrity, as far as classical learning is concerned. Long may this state of things continue; for we have yet to learn that a man thoroughly exercised by the minutiae of criticism, as well as in the severer discipline of metaphysics and mathematical knowledge, is not best qualified to apply all the powers of mind, thus refined and strengthened, to the more exclusive pursuits of after life. He who has been *liberally educated* (to use a phrase in its proper signification, which is too

often woefully misapplied by sciolists in education), will be able to engage vigorously, and often successfully, in his duties as a parish priest, or a lawyer; to do, what we pray at our universities that we all may be enabled to do, "Serve God in Church and State;" or to use still plainer, though not less forcible words, "to do our duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call us."*—We should never forget that the Catechism is the manual of Christian instruction for all classes, rich as well as poor, scholar as well as artizan; and it is a bad sign when a man has grown too old to remember it, or too wise to think it worth his while to practise.—As regards our present subject in connection with the training by which young men are disciplined at our universities, what we particularly regret is this: that whilst every profession reaps great benefit from our universities in what they now do for those fresh recruits who every year take a sort of military oath to serve under a new banner, few, so very few, are found to devote themselves to critical learning as the employment of their lives. Our English universities afford, as we believe, an education far superior to that which any foreign school of learning holds out. All Germany might be searched for young men able to compete with those among us, whose three years of patient and submissive study in the course which Alma Mater lays down for them, is then rewarded by the highest distinction she has to bestow. But pass on a few short years, and a friendly struggle of this sort would be attended by a far different result. For one man of talent who is contented to devote himself to criticism in after life, every German university would produce ten. We look on classical learning solely as a means to an end, which indeed it is; for doubtless the primary object of our universities is to advance the cause of true religion in the land, by giving it advocates who have previously advanced more than a few steps in sound learning. **IT IS A MEANS TO AN END.** But the end need not always be so widely removed in its very nature from the means. Were it not for a few bright exceptions, for a few amongst us who without seeking it, have obtained not merely an English but a European reputation, we should fear that the love of criticism, a good and noble, both in itself as well as in the results which spring from it, were now entirely dead, as it most surely is dormant among us. But these few clear streaks in the horizon give us hope that a brighter day may soon arise upon us. Where shall we now look for a society of men devoting themselves, as did the Benedictines, to criticism, applied to the advancement of Ecclesiastical and Biblical knowledge? They did much in editing editions of the Fathers, superior, with but few exceptions

* Church Catechism.

to any which had been given before ; but much remains to be done. It only waits for men who are able and willing to do it.

We noticed above the advance which has been made in criticism since the time when the Benedictines devoted themselves to it ; we should not therefore try them by the same standard which is applicable to those of our day ; we should be thankful, deeply thankful, for what they and others have done for us, without looking for that from them which they had not to give. They have given us much—have enabled any who follow their steps to start, as it were, from an advanced post, and at the same time hold out to us a noble instance of humility, a total absence of all self-aggrandizement or individual reputation, even in the title which they prefix to their works :—“ *Opera et studio Monachorum ordinis St. Benedicti è Congregatione St. Mauri.*”* Here was a fraternity labouring in a holy cause, yet not one of their names appears in the title page of these noble works. Again, when only one seems to have engaged in the work, even his name is concealed :—“ *Opera et studio unius è Monachis Congregationis St. Mauri.*”†

It is not a little curious that the Benedictine edition of Chrysostom, where the name of one individual is alone mentioned, and thus elevated, from whatever motive, above those who co-operated with him, is, as far as we have been able to judge, less valuable than the rest,—that which is commonly called the Benedictine Chrysostom, though it now sells for the enormous price of 35*l.* and upwards—“ *Opera et studio D. B. de Montefaucon unius Monachi ordinis St. Benedicti è Congregatione St. Mauri, opem ferentibus aliis ex eodem Sodalitio monachis.*”‡ Montfaucon was a man of great erudition—the first antiquarian of his day, and, for his age, a scholar ripe and good. But from his manifold engagements, he was probably unable to undertake all the mechanical labour of collating the MSS. which fell in his way ; he doubtless employed other “painful” young men to do this work—and very hard work, we can assure our readers, it is. This is all very well ; but surely he was bound to test their labours in such a way as to be morally certain that he did not give to the world, under the sanction of his great name, that which *was not* what it pretended to be, a faithful edition of the true text of St. Chrysostom.

Yet still we owe much to Montfaucon ; and as we do not remember to have seen any faithful account of his life accessible to the general reader, we hope the following summary will not be considered as an useless interruption of the more immediate object of this article.

* Title-page of St. Athanasius.

† Title-page of St. Justin.

‡ Title-page of St. Chrysostom.

He was born in the year 1646 at Bordeaux, and was sent at the age of seven to the college of Limoux. This he quitted rather abruptly; in plain terms, ran away, though perhaps not without cause. From this time he pursued his studies, chiefly historical, with steadiness far above his years, in his father's house. Monsieur Pavilion, Bishop of Aleth, assisted him much by the loan of books, and by directing his reading. At the age of seventeen he joined a company of cadets, and served in the army for two years under Mareschal Turen. His father then died—a near relation who had charge of him was dangerously wounded at Strasbourg, and as Montfaucon's constitution was then far from strong, by the advice of the latter he quitted the army. The effect which these combined causes had upon his mind, and his previous love for study, led him to desire to change an active for a contemplative life; and this possibly not without the good providence of God, who may have foreseen the use he might be to His Church in this his new vocation; he served his noviciate at the convent of Della Danaude at Toulouse, and in 1667 professed; he then began to study Greek at Soreze in the diocese of Louvain, and such was his reputation for sanctity of life, that his prayers to God for a sick child were begged by its sorrowing parents. The child eventually recovered. Whilst we mention the story, we need not of course take the same view of it as the writer in the *Acta Benedictinorum*, who regards it as an undoubted miracle. We mention it as an evidence of the extreme holiness of his life and sanctity of his manners. Would, however, that the Christians of our self-styled enlightened age, whilst they despise such things as superstitious, would affix some meaning at least to the Apostle's plain words, and even on their lowest interpretation, as clearly pointing to the benefit of mutual prayer, act upon them!—*St. James*, v. 14—16.

Montfaucon remained eight years in the monastery De la Grasse, and there made his first essay in critical labours by translating some Greek authors into Latin; these were highly approved by Dom Claude Martin, who removed him to the Abbey De la St. Croix at Bordeaux, where he enjoyed the benefit of a good library. After one year he went to Paris, and in 1687 was associated with Dom Antoine Pouget and Dom Jacques Lossin, in editing the works of St. Athanasius. The latter died during the progress of the work, and the former gave up his share in it, so that its entire conduct was left to Montfaucon. To render himself better qualified for this arduous undertaking, he studied Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Coptic, and a little Arabic. In 1698 he went to Italy with Dom Paul Briouys. He remained there three years, making himself fully acquainted with the treasures

contained in the Italian libraries; the result of which he afterwards published in his *Diarium Italicum*. Whilst studying in the Vatican he incurred the dislike of the Pope's librarian, Zacagni, who was jealous that a foreigner should enjoy a reputation so superior to his own. An amusing anecdote is told of the manner in which the malice of the Italian showed itself, with the sole effect of proving the superior discrimination of the Frenchman.

"Pope Innocent received him at Rome with great distinction. But his mark of esteem, thus given to a Frenchman, displeased some learned men who loved not the nation to which he belonged. Amongst these the under-librarian to the Vatican strove to lay snares for him, which might diminish his high reputation. One day when M. Bernard le Montfaucon happened to be in the library with many other students, M. Zacagni placed before him an open MS. and said, with affected politeness, 'You are too good a judge to be unable to teach me the age of this MS., and I beg you to do so.' Montfaucon examined for a moment the page placed before him, and then said that the MS. was about 700 years old. 'You are wrong,' drily replied the sub-librarian, 'it is of much older date, and the name of the Emperor Basil the Macedonian, which is written on the title page, proves it.' 'But look,' replied Montfaucon with a smile, 'whether that is not rather Basil Porphyrogenita, who, as you know, lived a century and a half later.' The place was then shown to him, and in the second line he found the words *ἐκ τῆς πορφύρας*—born in the purple. 'Those Bollandists,' replied M. Zacagni, 'have led me into an error—but let us go to something else.' This something else turned out no better for him; Montfaucon always had the best of it, and so often came to the assistance of his captious rival, that the numerous company whom he had himself drawn together to witness his success were ashamed and distressed for him."*

Whilst Montfaucon was in Italy an opportunity offered itself to him of pursuing his researches in the Levant. Cardinal D'Estre pressed him so to do, and he afterwards regretted that he did not comply with his advice; had he done so we should now know for certain what literary treasures were then preserved in the East, which may even now be there, if not entirely destroyed by the cruel and exterminating wars to which this fair though unhappy country has been exposed. He returned to Paris, and in the year 1719 was made an honorary member of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, which often profited by essays from his pen. In extreme old age he was still able to study eight hours a day. In the words of his biographer his constitution was strengthened to such a degree by the habits of a frugal life and one under rule, that he never knew what illness was during more than fifty years.

* *Acta Benedictinorum. Life of Montfaucon.*

We cannot of course attempt to give even a list of the voluminous works which he published. Athanasius and the *Collectio Nova Patrum*, which is supplementary to Athanasius, the *Diarium Italicum*, the *Palæographia Græca*, the *Hexapla* of Origen, and the *Bibliotheca Coislimana*, being a catalogue of the MSS. contained in that Library, and lastly the works of St. Chrysostom, upon which he was occupied from 1715 to 1738, are some of the most remarkable works in which he was engaged. Wonderful indeed is their magnitude even when accomplished by a man whose life was protracted beyond the ordinary limit of threescore years and ten. In the words of his biographer the life of Montfaucon is nothing else than the history of his works, almost all equally remarkable for their importance and their extent, and by the erudition displayed in them, which is both solid and abundant. His health strengthened by a life according to rule, rendered him capable of sustaining the longest application without inconvenience. Thus he attained the age of 87 years without infirmity, and he died very suddenly December 21, 1741. He was buried with pomp in the church of the Abbey St. Germain des Pres. During the French Revolution his remains were placed in a tomb at the Musée des Monuments Français. Alas, for the French style of honouring the departed by desecrating his resting-place in the house of God. But on an order from the minister of the interior they were afterwards carried into one of the churches of Paris. His Eulogy was pronounced by Deboze, and was inserted in the 16th volume of the *Académie des Inscriptions*.

His character is thus ably summed up. Montfaucon had a mind just, penetrating, cheerful, methodical, as well adapted for the conception as the execution of great designs. He wrote with such order and ease that at the commencement of a work of great length, he could name exactly when it would be finished. He loved young men of studious habits, would advise with them and mark their progress with the most tender solicitude. Such was Montfaucon. Our materials for this short account of his life are drawn from the *Biographie Universelle* and the *Acta Benedictinorum*. We trust it will not be considered useless, as it affords a striking instance of what may be effected by a man even of a weak constitution, in whose mind order and regularity are united with a firm persuasion of the importance of the ends to which he devotes the time and talents which have been entrusted to him.

But we should also say a few words on the advantages which he possessed, which were indeed great. Paris was even then rich in MSS. in a degree far above any other city, though it is much more now than it was in the days of Montfaucon. For

sample, in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris there are six MSS. of the commentary by St. Chrysostom on the Epistle to the Romans, some of them invaluable; whilst only one MS. exists in England, as far as we know. It is in the Bodleian, and it is full of faults; doubtless introduced by an ignorant scribe when transcribing a MS. of a high order, for it bears about it, in the nature of its readings, marks of a good family descent. Whence then comes the poverty of our libraries, the richness of that of our neighbours? This was, we confess, for some time a difficulty to us. We have, we believe, now solved it, though the solution be one which must afford pain to every feeling and religious mind. At the time of the French Revolution the murder of the whole fraternity of monks was an every-day occurrence; and a monastery in flames viewed only as a fine sight, the one necessary to give "les braves Français" an appetite for their breakfast, and the other a fit conclusion to a jour du fête, without which it was noted a dull affair. But after the monks were some how or other got rid of, and the torch just on the point of being applied to the monastery, some one (not quite a *Deus ex machinâ*) would creep in, and in the general pillage to which he had excited his compatriots, secure to himself no small share of the treasures of the library. He understood their value, and no doubt received good pay for *facilitating their transfer* to the royal library at Paris. When at the peace the different treasures which had been stolen, or, as the phrase may run, transferred, from conquered nations were restored to their rightful owners, there were no monks found to carry home their own MSS.—the library-shelves and the monks had together disappeared, and the non-appearance of each excited about the same degree of remorse; and so they have remained in the Bibliothèque du Roi, where the liberal system adopted by the French offers them to the learned of the whole world. We do not mean to say that all the treasures of the Paris library were thus iniquitously acquired; a fair price was no doubt paid for many of them, but we are sure the French Revolution contributed much to swell the Paris catalogue to such an extent that Montfaucon himself would not now know it. In England, on the contrary, learning was almost exclusively confined to the clergy when the monasteries were suppressed. They alone knew the value of those libraries of which the sequestrators got possession and destroyed. It is told as a fact illustrative of the good fruits which followed this pillage, that my Lord of Derby's kitchen was supplied with paper for whole years from the Abbey of St. Alban's, and that his lordship's valet never wanted for parchment to clean his lordship's boots! We may have suffered more from the use to which our libraries have been applied, but we fear

the French mode of treating them is not much more creditable to their honesty, whatever it may be to their discernment.

That our readers may not think what we are saying entirely foreign to the subject, we may now return to Mr. Field. I was under these disadvantages that he laboured during the sojourn he made at Paris for the purpose of perfecting as far as possible his work. In the preface of his volume of notes he clearly states what resources were open to him, but previously gives a succinct and able review of what had been done by former editors. It is wonderful what a mass of information is here put before us in a very short compass. Mr. Field studiously avoided as he tells us, laying himself open to the charge under which Chrysostom himself laboured, of indulging in too long exordia. We shall lay before our readers in the form of a free translation for Mr. Field's preface is in very elegant Latin, those parts which bear more immediately on our subject.

The first edition of the corrected works of St. Chrysostom was printed at Heidelberg in the year 1602; it is called the Commelinian Edition, from the printer's name. This Sir Henry Saville whose edition appeared in 1612, used for his printer's copy; it is still carefully preserved in the archives of the Bodleian, with the corrections and various readings introduced by Saville, clearly written in the margin. Very great care was evidently taken with this work, but unfortunately there is no notice of the source from whence the various readings were drawn. Critics have then not learnt to leave a record for their successors, which might prevent them going over the same ground again—this of course very much detracts from the value of this still interesting document. Saville himself speaks thus of it: "Besides the MSS. had the edition published at Heidelberg; it abounds indeed with numberless errors, a greater part of which, or rather the greater part, I have expunged; yet, imperfect as it is, we owe a debt of gratitude to those good men who thus edited a work before now printed, and that after no careless inspection of the MSS." What then shall we say of Montfaucon, who in spite of, or rather, we should say, in no very creditable ignorance of this notice, speaks of Sir Henry Saville's as the first edition, and the Commelinian as the second published, as he fancied, in the year 1617? "Those who had charge of its publication do not even seem to have known of Saville's edition, which was given to the world five years before; at all events they made no use of it, and had not anywhere mentioned it." The fact is this, when the English edition appeared, the Heidelberg publishers feared lest their own should become waste paper, and so printed a fresh title, bearing a false date, which they prefixed to their unsold copies, to give them

the appearance of a second edition. One of these Montfaucon doubtless saw, and by this trick of the trade was deceived, though he might have been put on his guard by Saville's notice. Saville mentions five MSS., of which he made use; the marks which he uses are rather indistinct, and have led his servile followers, the Benedictine editors, into some strange mistakes. "When the MSS. made any probable addition to the received texts, Saville, without expressly mentioning them, would place an asterisk in the line, and give in the margin the additional words to be inserted before that mark. If they gave any change, he would place inverted commas at the beginning of the word or words which were to be removed from the text, and place the substitution which the MS. supplied in the margin, with the sign γ before it. He unfortunately had no mark to signify over how many words the power of these inverted commas extended, which oftentimes led the Benedictine editors astray; *in more places than one they have formed new readings by confounding the marks of addition and alteration*; the third class of false readings in Montfaucon's edition have sprung from typographical errors in Saville. We must further observe that Saville changed many readings of the old editions, without any notice; but if he wished to draw the reader's attention to this correction, he would place in the margin with the sign γ the reading which he had removed, just as if it had been taken from some MS. This also deceived the Benedictines."

Besides these marginal notes Saville collected at the end of the eighth volume his corrections, which are few but valuable. The greater part of these he attributes to his friend, John Boyce, Canon of Ely. "I will conclude," says Mr. Field, "my notice of Saville's truly magnificent undertaking, which must have required more than a private fortune to have carried it through, with this remark on the whole work, that those who had the care of correcting it were most diligent in their task, so that the book is pre-eminent for internal accuracy and fidelity as well as external beauty." The third edition, that of Morrell, published at Paris, 1633, does not fall immediately under our notice. Montfaucon himself was aware, though no mention is made of the fact, that it is simply a reprint of the Commelinian edition. "Since then it is clear that there is no critical fidelity or authority in this edition, I would have passed it by in silence, but for two causes, one that though Montfaucon himself clearly saw the worthless character of this edition, he printed from it, having passed by the English; the other, that whilst my work was in hand, I had not the edition by me, but when I afterwards procured it, I saw that we might replace the name of Morrell by that of Commeline."

The merits of the Benedictine edition is then, we believe, most fairly though not very favourably stated.

"We now arrive at the Benedictine edition, which, by the common consent of learned and unlearned men, is called the best."

The notice on the title-page of this edition will show what a parade was made of the MSS. collated for the work, though we are not answerable for Mr. Field's tone in speaking of it in this and the next extract:—

"The German and Italian MSS. which are thus pompously introduced," says he, "belong not to my part of the works of this Father. The mention of English MSS. means nothing more than Sir H. Saville's edition. The French MSS. therefore remain; eight are noticed at the beginning of the first homily on St. Matthew. (The numbers by which they are designated are then given, but these we do not insert.)"

"In the notice thus given of these eight MSS.," goes on Mr. Field, "I fail to recognize the hand of men skilled in palæography, and well versed in deciphering MS.: and what is more, he does not even give one word to say whether each MS. contains the whole work, or only a part, the first or second."

Mr. Field examined Montfaucon's own MSS. and gives the result of his search. He then proceeds:

"Now although these MSS. were noticed at the beginning of the work, he does not, from the first homily to the very last, quote one of them by name; but deludes his readers by mere shadows and shades (of MSS.), informing them that one MS., two MSS., other MSS., certain MSS. give this or that reading. More is said in my notes on the manner in which Montfaucon treated his MSS., which I need not now repeat, but this is its sum. He not only did not *collate* his MSS., but sometimes did not even look into them even in difficult places, and where he acknowledged that he was at a loss. He did not gather the harvest of various readings which may be had even from one little MS. out of the vast treasures which he had at his command. The greater part of the notes is taken up by marking the mere typographical faults of the edition of Morrell. *Moreover even those various readings which he produced as though he had observed them from his MSS., are often, indeed for the most part, taken from Saville's margin, wherein it sometimes happens that he puffs off a vicious reading of the Commeline edition as the reading of certain MSS.* In numberless places, where Morrell and Saville have different readings, he produces both, and gives it as his opinion (censet) that this or that is to be preferred without making any mention at all of his MSS. And though in his preface he has rightly extolled the text of Saville, and condemned that of Morrell, yet most wonderfully he uses the *latter*, not the former, for his printed copy, corrected indeed by looking here and there into the former. For I entirely deny that he ever accurately collated the two editions together, or even with a moderate degree of diligence. For instance of this, I would refer not so much to my own edition as the modern Paris Benedictine, in which the editor by the aid of Saville's text, has removed not a few Morrell-Montfaucon

errors, though he has left still more for me to remove. As regards punctuation here too he deserted Saville, who is a most excellent guide, and entirely trusts to his printing copy (the edition of Morrell). * * * *

"I will add one thing more, and then desist from my unpleasant task. The critic, who thus neglected all real evidence, and handed over the various readings to the tribunal of his own judgment, is not only weak in mental acumen, and the sort of divining power which belongs to a true critic, but is void of deep acquaintance with the Greek language."

These are pretty strong terms, and we shall take occasion in the conclusion of this article to revert, as we said above, to the kind of temper which perhaps it may be harsh to say that *they* imply; for we think it one of the age, not of the individual. A man whose character is in general that of a holy and good man, should, we think, have the charges against him thrown into rather more cautious language than part of that we have just quoted. However, that the matter of fact is true, that Montfaucon's edition is not a satisfactory one, to whatever account its failings are to be laid, can, we think, easily be substantiated. We are sorry to add, that the new Paris edition does not much mend matters as to the neglect of the MSS. This, we think, will appear distinctly as we advance, without our giving to it a separate consideration, as that would perhaps lead us into drier work than review readers (for whom we entertain all possible respect) would feel satisfied with wading through. Still a few instances of various readings may not be uninteresting, as they will let our readers a little behind the scenes, and may tend to check the impatience of those who expect editions and translations of the Fathers to appear in double quick time. We do not mean to profess any very great acquaintance with these peripatetic operations ourselves; but as we have been favoured with sight of some collations which have been made from the Paris MSS. with a view to forwarding the Oxford Library of the Fathers, so far as regards St. Chrysostom we think we may be able to say somewhat not altogether uninteresting. And as it will tend to prove further that Mr. Field's statements about Montfaucon's edition are too true, we shall give some instances from the collations made for St. Chrysostom's Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans.

In page 20 of Saville's edition then, line 5 in the printed editions, the matter runs thus:—"Show me that the knowledge of God was plain to them (the Gentiles), and that they wilfully transgressed. Whence then was it plain? Did He send them a voice?" Here five Paris MSS. read, "Did He send them a voice from above?" ἀνωθεν is an important addition; and yet Montfaucon passes it over; the new Paris gives it, but mentions only the MS. for it.

Ibid. page 22, line 19.—“For Himself indeed is blessed for ever.” So Saville and the Paris edition; but four MSS. give “For He Himself abideth blessed for ever.” Αὐτὸς γὰρ μένει, which brings out the contrast with the foregoing words much better. For after speaking of the veneration shown to the creature more than the Creator, and wishing to show how the connexion between this and the words “Who is blessed for ever” is to be made out. St. Chrysostom says “Yet was not He hereby a whit injured, for Himself abideth,” &c. Here the word “abideth” plainly gives a more elegant, if not an absolutely necessary reading.

Ibid. page 25, line 29.—Καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ ἡσχάνοντο, &c. “Now had those who suffered thus, perceived what was taking place (five MSS. have καὶ εἴγε—at least if they had perceived), countless deaths: would they have undergone, so as not to suffer this; for there is not, there surely is not a more unreasonable and (ἀλογώτερον) and baleful thing than this insolency.” The words ἀλογ. &c. which are very clumsily applied here, are omitted in four MSS. Yet they have been allowed to stand in Montfaucon and the new Paris

Ibid. page 29, line 27.—Saville gives the text as follows:—“For it is not that thou mayest not suffer punishment, but that thou mayest suffer a more severe one if thou abidest unamended, that He defers it, and this will never happen to thee.” This being sheer nonsense, Saville puts in the margin “ισ. συμβησῆναι, or perhaps συμβήσῃναι should be read.” This done, the text will run thus—εἰ μένεις ἀδιόρθωτος ὦν ἀναβάλλῃς ὃ μηδέποτε συμβήσῃ σοι. Now Montfaucon has this note, “εἰ μενοῖς sic MSS. Saville μένεις mox MSS. συμβήσῃ.” And this the new Paris edition repeats. You would suppose by this that more MSS. than one had been consulted. It seems, however, that one MS. gives μένοι and none συμβήσῃ. Therefore the MSS. meant, are “some person or persons unknown!” for Saville cannot be mistaken to mean a MS., when he says distinctly “perhaps.” Besides what a languid and trailing sort of sentiment is this ὃ μηδέποτε συμβήσῃ σοι, to say nothing against the badness of the Greek which would have driven a careful editor to look for help from the MSS. Let us now usher them in—Οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ βασιλεῖα Σίγα. βαβαῖα! ὦ κβάλανα τοῦ σχήματος (We suppose scholars may dip into this article, and so venture the quotation.) What then do these ambassadors from the King’s Library tell us? They read the whole passage thus, (passing over minuter differences.) Οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὸ μὴ δοῦναι δίκην, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ δοῦναι χαλεπώτερον εἰ μένεις ἀδιόρθωτος ὦν, τὸ μηδεπω δοῦναι συμβήσῃ σοι. Which we should construe as follows:—“The fact that thou hast suffered no punishment as yet, will not result in thy not suffering any punishment, but in thy suffering a more severe one, if thou abide unamended,”—a plain and dignified statement enough! It may

not be so easy to account for present printed reading. The new Paris corrects it in the note from one MS.

Ibid. page 34, line 7.—St. Chrysostom, after noticing that St. Paul introduces, not the Son only, but the Father also, adds, καὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα δι' αὐτῶν ἐπαίρει, which is rightly rendered by Montfaucon “et prædicationis dignitatem per illos tollit.” Five MSS. have τῶν αὐτῶν, which will give a much better sense, since the *per illos* must mean “by the Father and the Son;” which would look as if St. Chrysostom was sanctioning the modern way of putting in those most holy names *on purpose* to give weight and elevation to the style; instead of which he is, according to the other reading, pointing out himself, to his hearers, a result which indirectly, or, if the expression may be allowed, unintentionally, comes of the Apostle’s words. In the very next words, the MSS. have ἐδίδαξαν for ἐδειξαν, which might lead one to think that Montfaucon had looked at them, as he gives two MSS. as having it: the reading, however, had been mentioned already by Saville in his margin, and we suppose that here, as upon St. Matthew, the marginal readings of Saville have been given by Montfaucon, as if they were the readings of a manuscript.

Ibid. page 45, line 31.—Saville has μηδὲ ὡς πρὸς καίρον καὶ ξένον ῥᾶγμα ταραχῆς. This is an awkward expression, to say the least of it: four MSS. give πρὸς καινόν.—“Neither be troubled as at a thing new and strange.” And we give this as one instance where Montfaucon has the reading of the MSS. It shows that he might have availed himself of them elsewhere also, had he chosen to do so.

Ibid. page 60, line 38.—St. Chrysostom says that to a man of right character, faith is clearer than demonstration, and more persuading; and then follow the words οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ λογισμὸν ἔλεγον πεισεσθῆναι ἀλλ’ διασαλεῦσαι λοιπόν. The MSS. give, with some variation, οὐ γὰρ ἐνεστὶ λογισμὸν ἔλεγον ἐπεισεσθῆναι ἀλλ’ διαλῦσαι διασαλεῦσαι, one MS.) λοιπόν, a reading which, to our minds, is far more elegant Greek, and though not one required, in order to elicit a sense, still of a kind which ought not to have been passed over. And yet Montfaucon does not say a syllable about there being any variation. The new Paris gives ἐνεστι and ἀλλήν, as the reading of one MS. And we say here once for all that this is a service which in several places they have done to general readers, though it will be a disservice to future critics.

These passages then will suffice to show that there has been great carelessness upon the part of the Benedictine editors, and they justify the strong language used by Mr. Field in a good degree. Let us add, that we have not taken in all the minute variations that occurred in the pages of Saville we have referred to, nor indeed all that seem to us of importance, but merely a

few which would serve to show what we meant. And yet, of course, the proof of carelessness will lie a great deal in the continued neglect of a number of readings which would have improved the text; and of this neglect, we have given samples only. We have also left unnoticed the headings of the morals or practical conclusions of each homily, which are given in the MSS. though with some variation.

We shall now proceed to notice a few instances from Mr Field's Chrysostom which tend to the same point to which those already given do. The first is taken from the 16th homily p. 205. Mr. Field gives Montfaucon's pages in the margin—one could wish he had given the chapter and verse of St. Matthew at the head of each page.—St. Chrysostom is noticing some miracles of our Lord, which showed His power over nature. In so doing we find the following words—"Again, that He was the Creator of the world and the things in it He demonstrated by the fishes, by the wine, by the bread, by the calm in the sea, by the ray which He made to glitter from him on the cross. Ἡ ἀπήστραψεν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ. This was the old reading. Let us hear Mr. Field's comment upon it:—

"Before Montfaucon, 'who was born to maintain literature in France' [using Valckenær's words on Ammonius], the editions had δὲ τῆς αἰ &c. as above. His note should by all means be copied out here. Our MS. has ἐν τῷ θάβωρ; all other MSS. of Saville and Morell ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ and so George of Trebisond readeth. I confess I hesitated here awhile as finding so much manuscript authority. But when I gave the matter further attention, I saw that that reading could not be allowed to stand. For the sense would have been, 'by the rays wherewith He shone upon the cross,' inasmuch as George renders it ill by 'et ex sole quem crucifixi tenebris obduxit'—since the literal rendering would be, as even school boys would see, per radium quo refulsit in cruce. And that He did shine upon the cross, none of the Evangelists have said. Therefore we take the reading ἐν τῷ θάβωρ. So he edited διὰ τῆς ἀκτίνος ἧς ἀπήστραψε ἐν τῷ θάβωρ. I on the contrary confess that, if even all the MSS. had agreed upon ἐν τῷ θάβωρ, I should have hesitated some time. For first the Mount of Transfiguration is no where, as far as I know, in St. Chrysostom's writings called Thabor or any other name. Then one should strongly object to Thabor put in this naked way: in the place of it the usage of the language required ἐν τῷ ὄρει θάβωρ. These are slight things [we quite think so], but what is of the utmost importance, is, that that heavenly brightness, wherewith the countenance of the Saviour who upon the Mount with His disciples shone, does not go at all to prove the point in hand, viz., that He held the elements in obedience to His will: not to mention that all copies in MS. or in print, save that one seen by Montfaucon (and I wish he had thought proper to give us the name of that praiseworthy MS.), stoutly maintain the reading τῷ σταυρῷ. But with the old Latin interpreter, whose version Montfaucon found fault with, the Armenian quite agrees—per solis radios quos in cruce

obscuravit. By the evidence of these the corruption of the passage (for corruption in it there plainly is) should be looked for, not in the harmless *σαυρῶ* but in *ἀπήσραψε*. To be brief—in looking at the codices the case was settled clearly at once. For in my C. D. E. F., and the 668, 669 of the King's MSS., the former of which the Benedictines also had at hand, I read plainly *διὰ τῆς ἀκτίως ἧς* (vel *ἥν*) *ἀπέσρεψεν ἐν τῷ σαυρῷ*. 'Η *ἀκτὶν*, without *τον ἡλίον*, is constantly used in our author as the light of the sun, &c. &c."

Here then we have a good instance of the neglect of MS. authority—since the reading given by Mr. Field is so palpably preferable that we think Montfaucon himself would have chosen it, had he looked and seen it. It is plain enough that the turning away the sun's light upon the cross, comes naturally as a final instance of our Lord's power over the creation. Let us proceed to another instance.

At p. 502 of Homily 48, St. Chrysostom speaks of persons who in private life imitate *τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξυρημένους*—according to Saville's text. Montfaucon gave *ἐξυσρημένους*, professing to take it from Morell and *some others*, as though there were MS. authorities for it. On turning to Saville's edition, Mr. Field notices, it will be found to be a marginal reading there. And on turning to the codices *ἐξυρημένους* is what they all give. And this *ἐξυρημένους* means "shorne," and that after the manner of the actors, as Mr. Field has shown from a passage of St. Chrysostom himself upon this very Gospel. The other two readings are a very fair sample of what is usually styled nonsense.

But we shall be tiring our readers with this kind of matter. It is not very easy to get an interest in it when engaged in it ourselves, and we fear still less when we have to set it before others, is it easy to give them an interest in the same. We will therefore only add one more instance, though we have several before us.

In p. 802 E. of Homily 84, the author is speaking, as he often does, of the duty of suffering patiently, and pointing out, how that, and not avenging oneself, is the true victory. "Neither stir thyself," it says, "nor toil. This strength hath God given thee that from an engagement thou shouldst not conquer, but only from enduring patiently. Set no battle in array"—*καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξόλσεις* or *ἐξόσει καὶ νείκηκας*. Of these last words the former is the reading of Saville's text, the latter that of Saville's margin, which Montfaucon copies, and as usual leads one to infer that it was the reading of other MSS. Mr. Field assures us that he found neither the one nor the other in the MSS. But supposing he had, what decent sense could be given to the words? We are far from wishing editors and translators not to extort a sense out of the word in the MSS., when it needs to be extorted. Nay, critics in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred would be much better employed in

patiently finding passable meanings, than in impatiently making probable conjectures. But in the present instance the MSS quit the editor of any trouble in this way. They gave *Μὴ παρατάξῃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξίσῃς, καὶ νενίκηκας*—"Do thou also, likewise, see no battle in array and thou art a conqueror."

Mr. Field observes, (Annot. p. 169,) that from this place Montfaucon, being in a hurry to get to the end, treated the Codice with more than his usual negligence. And so we will leave him at this point and bring to a close what Mr. Field, as we stated above, has called an "unpleasant task."

Before we leave Mr. Field, we ought to say somewhat more about his annotations than we have done, lest the reader should think that he has only given critical notes. This is far from being the case. There will be found to be in them a store of other information, tending to explain and illustrate the text. In doing so, he sometimes adopts an honesty in treating with difficulties which one does not always find, where one would wish to have found it, in Anglican writers. It would be ill-natured criticism perhaps, to say that this savours of the impartiality of a philologist rather than of a theologian: and we only mention it, lest some should think that that alternative had not occurred to us; it has and we reject it. Let the following be taken for a specimen.—In commenting upon what St. Chrysostom says of a holy oil whereby some sick folk were healed "in due time of need" (*ἐὺκαιρως*, if we may translate in sacred words, Hom. xxxi. p. 373 C.), he owns, after giving a passage from Leo Allatius to illustrate it, that he does not feel that he has quite cleared up the difficulty, and then subjoins:—

"So I had rather understand another passage of the consecrated oil used to drive off diseases. Yet that this was taken from the lamp lighted in the church, is what cannot be proved from Chrysostom's words. At such events this passage is a very remarkable one—enough to give me reason to wonder how it came to escape the notice of controversialists of either party, when upon the subject of extreme unction."

Nor is it only in the way of theological and ecclesiastical information that Mr. Field is valuable as an annotator: there appears to be also a considerable acquaintance with classical authors judiciously applied in the volume of annotations, to say nothing of modern critical works.

In some things we could have wished Mr. Field's notes to have been more abundant, and in other things he may have seemed to us not so learned as the general character of the book would lead us to expect—e. g., he quotes Mœris, at p. 40, as saying, that Aristophanes uses *φαῦλον* and *πλαῦρον κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημαίνοντες* and adds, that he does not understand the genitive. Mr. Field reads German, and would find in Kühner's Grammar, (a book,

which we can hardly speak too highly,) p. 284, sundry instances of such usage. It is familiar to Aristotle to say *κατηγορεῖσθαι τι κατὰ τινος*, to predicate any thing of a thing; in which sense the grammarians too, unless our memory fail us, have often used it.

On the whole, however, we have seldom met with an edition of a book which so much pleased us as this of Mr. Field's does, and so we can forgive little spots like this in such an "egregium corpus."

We should notice too, that Mr. Field has availed himself of the Armenian version, with a view to ascertaining the value of certain readings. Some account of this and other Armenian versions will be found in an extremely interesting little volume upon Armenian literature, by M. Neumann. It would be desirable, indeed, that all persons who took in hand any Father to edit, as the chief business of their life, should obtain some acquaintance with this very theological language. We think, too, that such versions as there happen to be in Syriac or Arabic might be of advantage in ascertaining the text of St. Chrysostom. We do not happen to be aware of any of those parts of his works to which we have alluded in the present article, although we know of such translations of some portions of them.

With Mr. Field then we have done for the present: we trust also that in what we have said it will be apparent, that little store can be set by the pretensions of the new French edition. We are sorry that such pretensions should have been made upon the part of a nation to whom patristic theology is perhaps under greater obligations than any nation in Christendom. It is better at all times to pretend to less rather than more than we perform, and this we hope the French editors will attend to, if they go on with their exceedingly useful task of reprinting the Benedictines. Though we will not undertake to make positive statements about it, yet we think it would be well also if they were to keep a sharper look out upon the printer. This at least is our own impression from what we happen to have read of those reprints, particularly of the Greek. Here then we have brought the first part of the present article to a close.

We are going on to say somewhat of St. Chrysostom himself, his style of writing commentaries, and the value of it.

Nothing then can be more certain, if people would but reflect, that truths of all kinds are proportioned to those who are to receive them. The vehicle too, or mode of administering them, must be different in different cases. Brute creatures are sensible of a law, otherwise they could never be tamed; but when they have been made sensible of it, the modes of inducing them to do as we desire are far more gentle than at first. They will take hints and other imperfect suggestions of our wishes—suggestions

infinitely short of that accuracy and fulness wherewith they are capable of being expressed even to brute creatures. And, putting the circumstances a little differently, this is the case with rational beings also. There is such a thing as addressing them by formal statements, and there is such a thing as addressing them by hints and suggestions. The latter way is suited to those who have long obeyed a law, the former to those of a ruder and more unformed state of moral cultivation. The latter answers to the allegorical the former to the more direct mode of teaching. Where a high tone of discipline prevailed in the Church, the latter would be appropriate and readily intelligible; where a low tone prevailed the former would be the only serviceable mode of teaching. We are not saying this of course as if there were not some worthy persons whose temperament was averse to allegorical teaching or others who would snatch at it before they were fitted for it. Still in the main we believe that stern self-discipline opens men's eyes to all such things: while lax and easy habits make them appear foolishness. It was not upon a luxurious pillow, but upon a hard stone, that Jacob's head was reclined when he saw the vision of angels, and found heavenly things where at first he expected it not.

Now if there be any truth in all this, we shall see the exceeding value of St. Chrysostom as a writer calculated to rouse a self-indulgent age like our own, and the important service which they render who make his text clearer and more accessible. For St. Chrysostom had to deal with a most corrupt place; and he put forward very little in the shape of allegorical comment—and by allegorical comment, we mean such comment as unfolds and sets out into a clearer light that allegory with which the Holy Scripture every where teems. This then is not what he unfolds: it would not have been suited to those under his charge, and he therefore most judiciously withholds it from them. He sternly and severely rebukes the luxury of the day, the cold and calculating way in which some were beginning to dole out their alms, the admission of maxims of unforgiveness, the practical disbelief of the communion of saints, and insists upon the necessity of good works and the mode of their efficacy, and the severity of the last judgment. These are things which he dwells upon with persevering and astonishing eloquence: and these are things which surely lack exceedingly in the present day. When men have diligently acted up to them they will not complain any longer of the absence of proof for Church doctrines in Scripture. But while they suppose they are to see things without taking pains to obtain moral and religious improvement, they are going upon a wrong tact altogether. The instances which we have heard of, in which men have rigidly observed Church discipline, and yet continued

o quarrel with Church doctrine, are excessively few indeed. Physic may sometimes clear the head, but fasting only will clear the heart. And which does Scripture speak of as that wherewith we believe?

But though St. Chrysostom does not point out much in the way of allegorical meaning of Scripture, we must not be led to suppose either that he underrated such a mode of interpretation, or that he did not well weigh every letter of Holy Scripture. That the first is true any one may see who will read his discourses upon the advantage of the obscurity of prophecy, to say nothing of the occasional passages in his commentaries. That the second is true Mr. Field's volumes will abundantly prove. And now to say a word or two upon his method of commenting—for what we have hitherto said applies perhaps more strictly to the ethica or morals appended to each discourse. And this of course it was important to notice first upon our view of the matter; since if we state first the tone of morality which a writer upholds, we are stating first what is necessary in order to *see* aright—sight succeeds to holiness. Now St. Chrysostom will be found rigidly to weigh each word, to draw out its force and suffer nothing to be listlessly passed over. St. Ambrose, a writer of a very different kind, somewhere says, "*Nihil apud me distat in verbo quod non distat in sensu,*" i. e. with me verbal differences always indicate difference of meaning. And what St. Ambrose says will be found fully adhered to by St. Chrysostom. Here then is a point on which St. Chrysostom's commentaries will tend to improve the age: we at this day are wanting in earnest attention to every word of Holy Scripture, and that in direct proportion as we are wanting in reverence for Catholic tradition. Of course this might be expected. He which is faithful in a less thing it is, who will be most faithful with the true riches. This then is a deficiency which these commentaries will tend greatly towards correcting, and a very sore deficiency it is, in the forcible words of the great Hooker:—

"Neither is it a small thing which we derogate as well from the honour of his truth, as from the comfort, joy, and delight, which we ourselves should take by it, when we loosely slide over His speech, as though it were, as our own is commonly, vulgar and trivial. Whereas He uttereth *nothing*, but it hath besides the substance of doctrine delivered a depth of wisdom in the very choice and frame of words to deliver it in. The reason whereof being not perceived but by greater intention of brain than our nice minds for the most part can well away with, fain we would bring the world, if we might, to think it but a needless curiosity to rip up any thing further than extemporal readiness of wit doth serve to reach unto."

This then, it is hoped, is one important thing which this writer seems calculated to effect, and a ground, as we said, of praise to

those who take pains to bring his text into a purer and more accessible form ; for this is a preliminary step towards getting good translations. But there are other important functions which these commentaries seem likely to fulfil, and it is of two of them which we have been speaking all along : we do not forget the other works of Saint Chrysostom of course. Now it is unquestionable that a good commentary has been a great desideratum in our Church, unquestionable at all events in the eyes of all those who at all keep to her teaching about the sacraments. And where are we to go to? To the Fathers? Nay, it is said, they are so full of allegory and the like that that is quite out of the question. Who then is to compose one? It is easy to talk of plain practical views and so forth, but it is not easy to combine sound practical views with the knowledge and learning requisite in order to keep a commentator from error. A man should be acquainted with modern ways of thought, with modern languages, with ancient languages, with the tone and temper of the early Church in order to comment on Holy Scripture to solid advantage. And it takes a long time to acquire either of these qualifications ; the last especially, which is by far the most important, is the most difficult of all to acquire, and cannot be attained to at all perhaps without high gifts moral and intellectual. And if this last be the most important, and does require so long time to grow unto, surely Saint Chrysostom possesses this requisite at least, while he withholds that allegorical or mystical interpretation for which moderns have no ear. It is indeed like some ancient music, deep and full of meaning to those who have a taste for it, but despised by those who are without that taste. People cannot complain then as if allegory were essential to Catholic interpretation, for which they have no relish ; for here is an author who, living amongst men and beaten about in the rough world, was well able to supply a practical commentary ; and from his acquaintance with a higher tone of Christian teaching than that now in vogue, secured to his commentary a high standard of practice. If he was necessarily without some qualifications which would be now looked for in a commentator, at all events he had two of the most important, and therefore he comes in at present to supply in good part what is confessedly a great desideratum.

And we might notice as a corollary of this last mentioned service, the fact that he wrote before the systems of evidence writers had introduced an irreverent way of handling Scripture. Reverence indeed we should always feel in approaching any thing which has in any way been brought into connection with religion. But the reverse of this has been the tendency of the age, and consequently an author who does not give scope by his mode of interpretation to irreverence (a mode of interpretation short of that which reveren

minds ought to have furnished to them) is especially valuable at this time.

There are doubtless other points which an admirer of Saint Chrysostom would wish us to insist upon; but these have seemed to us of the chief importance to be noticed at a time when we are speaking of new editions of his works and the merit of them. With regard to their simplicity, energy, and clearness, we leave them to speak for themselves.

But we have said enough, perhaps more than enough of the editions and of the commentaries themselves. It is time we should notice lastly, as we promised to do, a spirit which we said we thought we had detected in some of Mr. Field's remarks. He commends Saville's edition and with great justice, as those who are acquainted with it will, we think, bear us witness. Still Saville has only given the Greek text, which, however easy for scholars to read, is not, we presume, very pleasing to the generality of the clergy either abroad or in this country. So there may have been a great demand for a new edition with a Latin translation to it, and this Montfaucon's edition supplied. We do not forget other editions and translations, still we believe this was a service done to the Church. And we cannot help thinking that did we know all the circumstances, it might after all turn out that the badness of that edition we have regretted was not quite inexcusable. We do not mean that we see the way to excuse it, but when we consider what great works Montfaucon did effect, we think he ought to have the benefit of a doubt. At all events we are sorry that Mr. Field should quote sneeringly Valckenaer's praise of him, and we are so because it is like the abusive spirit of some German critics from which we wish to see Englishmen free, and also from its tending in some degree at least to keep up our unnecessary spirit of hostility towards Christians abroad.

A step is often gained by having books re-edited at all; and though we must prefer a little and well done, as Mr. Field's edition of the Homilies upon St. Matthew is, still we think that the bare increase of the numbers of copies of some works in itself a practical advantage. Thus to take an instance from the classics—we believe the multitudinous books which Bekker has produced cannot be all edited with sufficient care; we may say honestly, that we more than believe it. Still it is an advantage to have them so edited, and we ought to be obliged to him for what he has done well, and forgive what he has not done well. English editions will, we trust, be generally found to be more carefully done if there be fewer of them.

In the way of editing any longer works of the Fathers, we have very little to brag of. Saville's Chrysostom is perhaps the only

long set of volumes which we should find in a library of the Fathers by an English editor: and it is ἡὺς τε μεγὰς τε, we fully allow. But perhaps having had our monasteries destroyed by that fell monster of iniquity, Henry VIII., very little just complaint could be raised against us, if we did not think ourselves ennobled by it. We think, however, that there is good ground for finding fault with that narrow-minded uncatholic bigotry of Englishmen, who puff and puff and puff all that their countrymen do, and will not see the very great merit of the Church abroad, whatever be its errors. The labour which foreign Churches have bestowed upon the works of the Fathers, surely ought to entitle them to some kindly feeling from a Church whose greatest divines have sought always to make the Fathers the proof of their own Church's apostolical character.

As we have been finding fault with one Benedictine edition, it becomes us to raise our voice in behalf of the Benedictine editions in general. As we have by our remarks done something towards fostering that pernicious spirit of self-praise, to which a German proverb attributeth no very pleasing quality, we seem called upon to say somewhat to prevent its helping that rancorous spirit towards other Churches to which it is so often the basework. We in England really do perfectly besot ourselves with self-praise; and if any one tries to awaken us out of it, up we get, in abusive mood, and call ourselves pure and apostolical. We think, then, that this unwillingness to see the good in others is a plague which "the strongest do not easily escape," and though we do not mean to say Mr. Field is mortally tainted with it, still we think he may have come in for a share of it: and though with him it may not be so, yet with others it often shows itself in a willingness to pick holes in all that Roman Catholics do; and one instance of this is, the way in which men abuse them for carelessness or wilfulness in the errors to be found in their editions of the Fathers. Some librarian or other may scrape together a set of instances and make a book of them: this goes out into the imitation-going world (as it has been called) and spreads forth a baneful spirit of hatred and antipathy towards Christians abroad, keeps up that rancorousness, which we, with all our claims to being pure and apostolical, have attained so bad an eminence in. It is to the Benedictine tomes as a little box of poison to a year's stock of provision. It is a compact mischief: they are blessings whose very nature precludes the possibility of being compact.

We are not writing this in an angry and cutting temper, but with a wish to put before people, and theological students in particular, how exceedingly wrong such a temper is—how wholly alien to the mind of a Christian! A short book of calumny is so

easy to read, and the long, laborious, and ample folios of the Benedictines so hard to toil through, that we surely ought to give them the benefit of our ignorance, if we are unacquainted with their labours. But in good truth we do think that those who have seen most of them, will be most willing to speak for their fidelity as editors; the honesty with which they have given the text of the Fathers, where it seems to gainsay doctrines or practices of their own Church, as well as the ingenuity—ay, the laudable ingenuity with which they have explained such passages. And if this looks like putting people upon their guard against them, we ought at the same time to mention the learning and orthodoxy with which they have elucidated difficulties upon points where happily we are not divided from them.

Of course it ought to be allowed, that we ourselves, as lovers of ancient theology in our measure, speak feelingly in behalf of the Benedictine editors, and are, perhaps, over-desirous to remove any impression we have been the means of exciting against them by saying so much against their edition of St. Chrysostom. Still we do think, that there ought to be somewhat said in their favour, though they happen to be of another Church. What they have done, compared with what the English Church has done in the field of ancient theology, is indeed a ground for keeping from abuse of them. And they ought to furnish, it seems to us, a spot where the sad hatred towards Rome might be put aside. In Rome there is much, which we cannot help thinking erroneous; and a very painful thing indeed it is to be obliged to think so of by far the largest portion of Christendom: still there is much which, to be honest, we also think right;—and because of that sorrow of heart for what is wrong in them, and because of the miserable and soul-sickening feeling of being cut off from Christendom as we are, and because of the many thinkings and doings in our Church, *though not of it*, with which we have not one atom of sympathy;—therefore we are glad of any one point of unity which we can snatch at, dwell upon, live upon, in the midst of this deathlike disunion of the Churches. And such a point of unity is affection for the Benedictines, and this is what we should be sorry to have shaken by our finding it necessary to attack one of their works. Far indeed be it from us to think that this is the only point of unity left,—*absque eo quod intrinsecus latet*; nay, verily, every best thing that we have left is the more precious if it be shared with Rome. Every creed we say, every collect that has in it no deviation from the ancient Breviary form, every psalm that comes the same upon the few feast-days that we have left us in common with the Churches abroad, every fast that is lightened by the thought that the same self-affliction is being accomplished in our brethren at home and

abroad,—each and all of these is to us a pulse stirring with the beatings of the one great heart of the Catholic Church.

. “Sound need we none,
Nor any voice of joy; . . . in them do we live,
And by them do we live; they are our life.”

Yet if any one, however small, may be added to these, far be it from us to have wilfully shaken it, even though it be one enjoyed by but a few. And surely it is no mean thought for students in theology, each time they take the Benedictines into their hands, to have in this regard at least an opportunity of sending up one thought of love and gratitude towards that Church whose holy monks have, by their prodigious labours and industry, furnished them, when else they had been inaccessible. If only now and then such a thought arose, still it is a something in the mighty estuary of tendency, struggling, however feebly, towards union.

These feelings, however, these fellow-feelings towards those who have helped the cause of antiquity, must necessarily, in this country, be confined, in this particular instance of them, to but a few. People who mean to follow a studious life have to take up with many privations, which necessarily restrict their number to a few. If parish-priests have annoyances and vexations, so has the student; while he is cut off from much which is pleasureable in the life of a parish-priest, at least, according to our notions of a parish-priest. Most students have to forego the endearments of relations, “sweet bride, and marriage—home, and children here,” and to be passing in solitude most of their day, and most of their night, with the *distant* prospect of benefiting some future set of men, if, that is, they are happy enough to be sufficiently at leisure from supplying their own needs. Of course all this has its joys; yet it is consoling to think that there may be some few who, living this retired sort of life, and unhindered by evil obstacles, may be moving their lips only in effectual intercessions, while others, gnash, with what we must call, in sorrow, the teeth of uncharitableness. This uncharitableness is what we have been wishing to obviate. Upon the principle of loving our enemies, if upon no other, we are bound to love Rome; to be thankful for the works her great men have supplied to us, to be ready to see things in a favourable light, to feel a friend’s sorrowfulness for what after (not before) examination we are convinced to be grievous error. In thankfulness, then, for the labours of the Benedictines, Jesuits, and other retired members of that Church, for editing the Fathers, we will conclude in the words of one whom they have so edited:—
“Qui non diligit unitatem Ecclesiæ, non habet caritatem Dei.”

RT. IV.—1. *Capper's South Australia, containing the History of the Rise, Progress, and present State of the Colony.* By Henry Capper. Third Edition.

The Land of Promise. By "One who is going." London: Smith Elder, & Co.

Six Months in South Australia. By J. Horton James, Esq. London: J. Cross.

Fourth Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia. 1839.

PEOPLE do not emigrate for amusement. There must be a strong urgent inducement of a severer sort to induce men to turn their backs upon the land of their birth, the places which they have known, the friends and acquaintances they have been among from their youth up; to separate themselves from feelings and wishes strong, not only for life, but after death also; to cut themselves off from home associations, with prospect of never again renewing them. Well known instances there have been of individuals and bodies of men abandoning their country for conscience sake, to seek where they might freely, without molestation, worship God according to their consciences, or be exempt from debts and engagements which they could not conscientiously take. Such notions have pretty much passed away in our days. The inducement which now sets men on emigration, is almost entirely of another sort. It is simply to better themselves in the world. Either they cannot find a living for themselves at home, or not the sphere of life in which they have been brought up, or they hope to raise themselves a step, or make a fortune quicker than at home. These are the inducements which lead men to emigrate. Accordingly they are not for the most part inclined to complain in other respects, if their chief end seems likely to be answered. They have expected to have to rough it. They did not go out expecting ease, comforts, luxuries, all at once. What they wanted was to make money, to make more than they could at home. They leave difficulties behind them: they are not so reasonable as to suppose they will meet with no fresh ones. They look to being relieved of the difficulties they leave behind, but are not so unreasonable as not to be prepared for others of another sort in their stead. They think however, of course, that the balance is in favour of the step they take; and if not at first, at least on the long run. The one serious objection they would consider to the land of their choice would be, that it did not afford opportunities for making their way and getting on. While they live, they will report well of the land, so well as to disappoint

strangers on coming out, who do not consider what, after all, the one chief recommendation of a new land, to those who profess themselves well satisfied with the step they have taken, and invite others to make the same experiment, viz. that it affords good and certain prospect of making a fortune; at any rate, making money quicker than there was any chance of at home. While this is the case, it is, of course, to be expected, that the settlers will take the most favourable view of things. A silver halo, or some more precious *tint*, will light up and tinge the objects around them, and they will describe accordingly. Local advantages will be magnified, prospects be set forth in the most tempting way; inconveniences, hardships, and risks, will be kept in the back ground, and made as light of as may be. Particularly this will be the case, if a bad impression on the public mind at home concerning the new settlement would be likely to operate to the manifest disadvantage of the colony, and to the prospects of the success of the new settlers. People are slow also to believe they have taken a wrong step, still slower to advertise others of it; particularly if they can persuade themselves that if others would but continue to think as they once thought they would do well enough yet, or, at any rate, get well out of their mistake: and that theirs and others' success depends on keeping up an impression on the public mind, which, after a while may seem to them to do no great harm, even though it be not quite correct. The more sanguine will be slow to think the case bad, the more prudent, if embarked with them, will be slow to communicate suspicions, which may prejudice their own interests.

On the other hand, for the same reason that persons embarked in a concern, or prospering in it, will give a hopeful encouraging view of the enterprise in which they are engaged; a disappointed man, or one engaged in an opposite interest, equally well intentioned as to enlightening the public, only of course, not so much to his own detriment, will give a very different account of the same things. What the one writer keeps in the back ground with the other are all prominent, and points of chief importance. Neither one may state what is positively untrue, although the accounts they give of the same things and places may have nothing in common but proper names. Scenery, climate, soil, manner of persons, places, prospects, the actual state of things, comforts and hardships, present a very different aspect from the mouths and pens of the two authorities, both perhaps speaking and writing from what they have themselves seen and experienced; the one description being from the thriving, active, enterprising, high spirited person, who has found his bold step answer, and sees

good prospect of rising; the other, from a disappointed adventurer, or a dispirited, desponding one, who likes his ease, and cannot face difficulties with spirit and cheerfulness, and who, from whatever cause, has not found a good marketable price, whether for himself or his wares. Often statements are so very contradictory as to baffle all power of adjustment; but often they are easily reconcilable. The writers, from some cause or other, are at cross purposes. They are like persons peeping through different holes, and through different coloured glass, at the same objects, though thus brought out in different positions, and under different shades of light. Both are taking partial views, both according to their actual position and circumstances, or according to the idea uppermost in their minds. This admits of easy illustration. Suppose an opening for the office of resident managing director of the iron works at A., or of superintendent over the coal pits at B. I advise with two friends as to undertaking either of them. The one sets vividly before me the discomforts and anxieties of the employment among an ill conditioned, turbulent, riotous population, in a dreary, unhealthy country, with no society, and constant disagreeable inspection of the works at the furnaces, or below ground. The other briefly puts in, "the salary is £1000 a year," is it not? What can be more unlike than the two views, what clearer than each by itself, who does not appreciate the business-like solidity of our second friend's pertinent inquiry? Or let the matter in doubt be emigration to Australia. From one I hear of heat, and drought, and fleas, and wandering unsettled life, of bad diet, and short commons, of personal risks, of inconveniences, privations, and he adds, perhaps, "I have myself tried it and come away. The only way to make it answer is so and so, and that I could not bear, so I came away, and would not go again, if you were to pay me for it." The other observes, "such an one went out to Adelaide, with nothing but a capital for a small flock, and in a few years he returned with £60,000, made in sheep farming." Each view has its truth, though it is quite clear who speaks to the point, if my object be to make money. Whether a third friend might not point out considerations of more importance, requiring much more consideration, to be well weighed before I made my determination, is another question.

A few amusing contrasts will be given by and bye, from the works at the head of this article. At present it may be as well to give a short account of the province of South Australia, its present condition, and what it holds out to the emigrant.

The province of South Australia is a portion of the vast island continent of that name. It is about the same distance from the south pole that we are from the north pole, and is a voyage of

16,000 miles from us by ship's course. The summer months are December, January, February; the winter, June, July, and August, which is rather a season of rain than of frost and cold. The whole length of the continent from east to west is from 1500 to 1800 miles, and about 1400 from north to south. Of the interior of this vast extent of country little or nothing is known. It has not yet been traversed, nor is it certainly known what tribes there are in the central portion, or even whether it is inhabited at all. Hitherto exploring parties have not penetrated more than a few hundred miles up the country; neither are there any new settlements except within a few miles of the coast. The land was first discovered by the Dutch or Spaniards about 1609. It was afterwards touched at by many voyagers, chiefly Dutch, from whom it obtained the name of New Holland. The eastern part of the country was totally unknown till 1770, when it was explored by Captain Cook, and the British government took possession of the country in 1778, under the name of New South Wales. It was then made a penal settlement, and more than 700 convicts sent out with the first governor. In 1828 a colony was established at Swan River on the western side of the island. But it was not till 1836 that the province of South Australia was formed. This province is situated, as its name implies, on the southern coast: on the eastern side are the provinces of New South Wales: on the west, the boundaries of the colony of Western Australia, of which Swan River is the chief settlement. It has a line of coast of about 1300 miles, and extending inland somewhere about 600 or 700 miles. The actual length of the province from east to west is not much more than 600 or 700 miles, and the great length of coast it presents is from being indented by the great inland seas called Spencer's and St. Vincent Gulphs. Thus it contains an extent of country nearly double that of the British isles. This coast is little more than laid down in maps with names to the different headlands, bays, &c. For as yet there are but two settlements of any importance in the province—that at Adelaide, which is laid down for the capital of the province, and that at Port Lincoln, which is on the western shore of Spencer's Gulf. The climate seems on all hands to be allowed to be excellent. Even Mr. James says, "except the ophthalmia the writer saw nothing indicative of disease," and the inhabitants "appear free from the prevailing diseases of New South Wales, viz the dysentery and influenza." The report of the commissioner, however, states that "a mild form of dysentery" is at times very prevalent. "Fevers and agues" (say the commissioners) "are unknown. Exploring parties sleep upon the ground without hazard to their health. Persons labouring under pulmonary disease have

been restored to health by a residence in the colony." We, too, have heard a person well acquainted with the country say, that he had never known a case of consumption. But it is time to contrast some of the conflicting statements as to the colony and its capabilities, made by the writers at the head of this article. The writer of "*The Land of Promise*" has five pages full of testimonies to the excellence of the climate, from persons in the colony.

"The temperature at noon" (says Mr. Capper) "is much higher than it usually is in England at the same time in the corresponding seasons, but there is little difference in the temperature of the morning and evening. The air is generally tempered by a cool and delightful sea breeze, which blows steadily and regularly throughout the day, and is succeeded at night by an equally steady and grateful breeze from the land. The sky is usually clear and brilliant, and the atmosphere not subject to those sudden vicissitudes of heat and cold that we have in England: for though in the summer the heat is considerable, and during the months of January and February the thermometer has stood at 120° , the air is so pure and elastic, that it never causes the low-spirited feeling that the heat of summer does in England. This, however, does not last above twelve or fourteen days, and is not continuous, as after two or three days of this weather, there is generally a day or two of fine weather, and so alternately for about a fortnight. Throughout the summer hardly a week occurs without the most refreshing showers."—p. 44.

"From April to November," observes Mr. James, "the climate of South Australia may challenge comparison with the most favoured regions of the globe, and is in every respect suitable and even delicious to an Englishman's tastes and feelings." But for the other four "the heat is oppressive and almost intolerable," such as "I never remember to have felt in any part of the tropics even; it dries up every thing all garden vegetation: it pulverises the dust in the camp at Adelaide, that it is reduced to an almost impalpable powder, and penetrates every article of clothing from its extreme fineness, whilst as much caution is requisite in stepping across the road, as if a person were going through the nuddest part of Piccadilly or Whitechapel. Half the people you see have got bad eyes, the dandies even wearing veils."—pp. 17, 18.

Poor Adelaide during this season "never feels the refreshing eastern wind," which is the cool and constant wind in summer, because "the township is placed close under the western side of Mount Lofty."

The commissioners pronounce South Australia to have the advantage of water communication above any other portion of New Holland, being traversed by the Murray, the only considerable river in the country capable of inland navigation, and that when its tributaries are cleared of obstructions, occasioned by the fallen timber, it will be navigable for boats for upwards of 1000 miles. This river discharges itself into Lake Alexandrina, a

fresh water lake, "forty miles in length and thirty-five in breadth." Still more glowingly is the "water privilege" of the province celebrated in a number of the *South Australian Gazette*.

"Wherever the seaport of the capital of South Australia be placed, nearest and easiest of access from the Murray, there the New Orleans of this new empire is at once formed. We have the great Murray for its sister the Mississippi; the Darling for the Missouri; the Murrumbidgee for the Ohio."—*Land of Promise*, p. 88.

On the other hand, Mr. H. James seems all in a fever when he begins to speak about water. Certainly the country must have been too hot for him. Indeed we have heard it significantly observed, that Mr. James found it prudent to quit Australia on that account.

"The whole continent," he says (p. 11), "is cursed with a general want of water." "Where are the rivers," (he asks in another place with impassioned eagerness) "and what their names, that rise in the new colony? Is there one? For the little streams Hindmarsh and Kangaroo can hardly be designated as rivers. The Yass even is a puddle, and the Turnat a mere mountain torrent. . . . Even the Murray and its 1000 miles of navigation will all end in disappointment."—p. 130.

Yet elsewhere he says of it,

"That for the last 200 miles of its course it is as broad as the Thames at London Bridge."—p. 13.

The different ways in which the organs of sight are affected by the appearance of water in that country, might be instanced again in the case of the "Torrens;" Mr. Capper saw in it "a pretty stream," with "picturesque sheets of water" along its valley.—(*Capper*, pp. 38, 39.) According to Mr. James, it is the tiny Torrens "which you step across without knowing it."—p. 30.

"It all but vanishes; in the few places where it runs at all, there would be plenty of room for the whole of it to run through an Irishman's hat; and a far better river is made every day in the London streets, when the parish turncock opens a plug. There are, however, several pretty good holes, which have too much water in them to be entirely exhausted by the sun's heat, and it was on account of these water holes that the town was placed in this unfortunate situation."—pp. 17, 18.

Indeed, in Mr. James's view, Adelaide is a concentration of all that is bad: ill-chosen as to its position in the province, and as to site in that particular part—unsuitably and absurdly laid out as to extent and size of streets and squares, which are of a scale almost to require "a cab to get across them;" and where people lose themselves in the dark, and have been constrained to pass the right "sub dio," finding no human habitation, and no one to direct them; the harbour miserably inconvenient from

shallowness and irregularity of the tides; the settlement at the port but a few wretched straggling huts, with ill-conditioned uncivil inmates; water scarce to be had even for money; a wretched sandy hot road of eight miles from the port to the town, with no facilities for communication. These are the heads of his grievances, about which he inveighs the more bitterly, because Port Lincoln presented every thing that was desirable for the chief settlement, and nothing but the dense stupidity of the surveying staff prevented its being chosen for the site of the capital. As it is, in Mr. James's judgment, nothing can prevent Port Lincoln from being sooner or later the emporium of the new colony. The removal of the seat of government must follow, "and then the city of Adelaide will dwindle down into a second or third rate provincial village of the interior."—p. 8.

Why the site of Adelaide was chosen where it is, and why Port Lincoln was passed over shall be told by and bye. But first we wish Mr. James to tell the full amount of his miseries, they throw light on the reasons of his feeling them so acutely. The reader is to suppose himself to have sailed some way up St. Vincent's Gulf and to have taken the pilot on board, and now let Mr. James tell his own tale.

"In about half an hour two white buoys or beacons are seen a-head very close together, and between them is the narrow entrance. One of the sailors is now ordered into the chains with the hand-lead to ascertain the depth of the water. While he is crying out 'by the mark three—quarter less three,' the passengers are looking over the sides of the ship at the bottom, which is seen distinctly, and presently bump the vessel strikes upon the mud and sand. This is the bar of Port Adelaide. . . . The captain frowns, whilst the pilot thinks nothing of it, but walks about calm and unruffled as if he were in his own parlour; the sails are not even clued up, because the pilot thinks she will float again in the course of an hour or two . . . that every ship touches more or less on entering the port. . . . The careful captain . . . is not a little annoyed at having the matter treated so coolly, and wonders that the pilot, knowing the ship drew fourteen feet water, should attempt going over the bar with barely thirteen feet on it. About sunset or a little before, the flood-tide is making . . . and you are gliding pleasantly along up the narrow and muddy creek, with shoals on either side. Presently the ship has to cross a second bar . . . and soon after you are in deep water. There is here a turn in the creek, and as it is dark and the wind against you they bring up for the night. In the morning the passengers find themselves sailing up a narrow dirty ditch fringed on both sides with odious mangrove trees, and nothing to be seen on either of the low swampy shores but the dwarf tea trees or melaleuca. The shores resemble the worst parts of the coast of Essex. . . . You look out for a landing place in vain, though the ship now anchors again and you are at the end of your voyage. The boat is being lowered to put

the passengers ashore. . . . It is now 10 o'clock, and unless you make haste you are informed there may be some difficulty in landing, as the tides are here very unaccommodating, being always low water in the middle of the day. You ask if this is Port Adelaide? the answer is Yes! You step into the boat the landing place is about a mile higher up, and you already see the bottom, and in a few minutes you stick fast in the mud. . . . The tide is fast falling. . . . The good natured sailors seeing there is nothing else to be done, step out of the boat into the water, *trowsers and all* (!!) [only think actually—when was such a thing ever heard of at a civilized European port?] and succeed in pulling the boat along a considerable way; but presently she is again stuck as fast as ever in the broken shelly bottom. What is to be done—which is the landing place—the iron store is seen about a quarter of a mile off, and the passengers now must all get out, and walk as the sailors have done, but it will be too deep, it will be up to our knees exclaims a lady with new shoes and silk stockings: never mind, you must either do that or wait till dark, so here goes; and out they bring ladies and all and long before they reached the landing place they run a risk of falling in the water, not to say suffocation in the mud. . . . The shore is an uninhabitable swamp. . . . Arrived on the dry land—the party wash the mud off their legs, and put on their shoes and stockings and then walk up the side of a little canal, as it is called which brings them to the only spot of land at the creek free from inundations, which is called the Sand Hill, where one or two grog shops made of branches of trees, are seen. . . . This is Port Adelaide! Port Misery would be a better name, for nothing can surpass it in every thing that is wretched and inconvenient. . . . They ask for a drink of water before starting—there is not such a thing to be had; but the bullock carts are expected down every minute with the usual supply. Arrived at Adelaide they find that all have had to go through the same miserable landing at the port, and some of them had even suffered considerably by falling down in the mud. They like the company they meet, so their spirits rise and they make up their minds to think well of every thing and in their letters to any London friends to recommend the place, but not a word about the mud.”—p. 28—31.

Now if one did not know how differently different persons estimate difficulties and inconveniences, e. g. how differently cockney would describe the difficulty of a voyage to Margate, and the miseries of landing upon a dirty bank or slippery quay, or the hazards and exposures of a day's snipe shooting in the marshes, and another who had been a sailor or traveller, or accustomed to country sports, it would seem that this could never be the place which others speak of in very different terms. Of course large allowance is to be made. To a person who had never seen such an outrage against Wellington boots and trowsers, it may have seemed a great and unusual hardship for sailors to step out of boat into the water "*trowsers and all*;" or to a person, whose greatest exposure to soiling has been in the casualties of London

crossings, perhaps nothing short of a strong feeling of self-interest in the concealment of it, would prevail on him not to send home to his friends, though at a distance of a four months' voyage, the account of a *fall in the mud*. Yet it is conceivable that many even in this country, who had never made a longer voyage than to Southend, would think neither the one a marvel, nor the other an insuperable objection to the place where the event had befallen him. However, merely as to matter of fact, does Mr. James really pretend to affirm that all he met at Adelaide had to go through the same miserable landing? Perhaps he would translate and interpret the common saying "*exceptio probat regulam*" differently from the usual way. Perhaps he may have made the general rule of landings at Adelaide according to the manner of his own and certain others, though in truth the exceptions.

It is but fair to Mr. James to say it would have been very surprising for him not to have had a very keen sense of the nuisances and inconveniences to which he was exposed on his first landing and taking up his quarters at Adelaide. His standard for comforts and necessities had been raised very high, too high for him not to be keenly alive to the sudden change. He had been living in clover, or as the French more graphically describe "*comme un coq en p te*." Nothing can be more delightful than his description of the voyage. "The routine on board is very pleasant, and is something like the following: we are supposing the passenger a single gentleman . . . paying 70*l.* for his cabin. It cannot be done for less, and any person offering it for less must intend to abridge you of those comforts on board, which are really necessary."* Now attend, good reader, to an account of "*comforts really necessary*."

"At seven o'clock in the morning every body generally rises, and is on deck by eight bells or eight o'clock, by which time the decks are dry, mown spread, and you touch your hat to the captain or officer of the watch, and take a turn or two before breakfast, which is on table punctually at half-past eight, and consists of curry and rice, with pickles, cold chicken, sausages, ham or tongue, liver and bacon, pork or mutton chops, with hot potatoes, rolls, tea, coffee, toast and butter; it is in short a dinner with the addition of tea and coffee. The appetite is generally ravenous at sea, and every body eats twice as much as they do on shore." And very unlucky this is for those who have to keep themselves, but when the board is contracted for, there is less reason to be squeamish.] "At

* The author of the *Land of Promise* sets his scale of necessary comforts somewhat lower. He recommends "an intermediate passage to those who can dispense with appearances, particularly families, the difference being principally in the *dietary*, for many of the intermediate cabins are quite as good as the other cabins. The passage then costs about 35*l.*"—*Land of Promise*, p. 177; *Capper*, p. 138. 5*l.* extra laid out on a few specified articles they consider quite sufficient to satisfy ordinary necessities.

twelve o'clock the passengers go into the cabin or cuddy to lunch. This is not a formal meal and is conducted without any fuss or ceremony, and merely (!) consists of a glass of bottled porter or ale, a crust of bread and cheese, or a slice of cold ham, while the ladies perhaps are satisfied with a glass of wine in their own cabins. At three o'clock comes the dinner, and the most important matter on board ship to those who are merely passengers, and it may be generally seen that the two most pleasant noises on board are the sound of the reel and the dinner-bell. The reason is plain, because the sea air is so bracing and healthful, that though you are always eating you are always hungry; and most ships properly and liberally conducted, land each of their passengers from ten to fifteen pounds heavier than they received them on board. The ladies always attend the dinner table, and generally by their neat and pretty dresses add very much to the pleasure and beauty of the feast. All the art of the cook and steward have been called in aid to make a show for dinner, which besides a clean damask table cloth, and a profusion of silver and glass, without which no table can look handsome, the dishes consist of soup invariably, and generally of better quality than is given on shore, either mock turtle, ox tail, bouilli, peas, mutton broth, or muligatawney; followed by roast and boiled meat, fowls, goose, turkey, ducks, mutton or pork, curry and rice, hash, and ham; and concluded by two sorts of pies and puddings, with a dessert of almonds, raisins, figs, nuts and apples, *all washed down with as much porter, ale, port or sherry as you like*, and generally on Sundays with a glass or two of champagne. This makes the afternoon *fly pleasantly away*, and by the time your last cigar is finished, and you have tired yourself with walking on deck, tea and coffee is announced for those who choose it at seven o'clock, and then the pleasantest part of the twenty-four hours commences, viz. the evening, which is either passed at cards, chess, reading, music, dancing, walking arm-in-arm with the ladies on the quarter-deck and pointing out to them the glorious sunset and the evening planet. . . At nine o'clock, those who may require a little supper have only to say so to the steward, and a bit of something cold and a glass of grog and a cigar finishes the evening, and at ten or half-past ten the passengers tuck in, and all the lamps and candles are extinguished."—*James*, p. 3—6.

Mr. James is both sentimental and sensuous: if we may use that word for "having a taste for eating and drinking." He likes ladies: walking, talking, and dancing with them. He likes their "neat and pretty dresses," and considers they even "add very much to the *pleasure and beauty*" of the dinner feast: i. e. the intrinsic and inherent pleasure of dinner is enhanced by their presence. Still his softer feelings do not appear, for a moment, to affect his deliberate judgment of the relative importance of the ladies and the table. Is it any wonder, if, after weeks, to the delights of which Mr. James evidently did substantial justice (having been landed no doubt from ten to fifteen pounds heavier than he went on board), and which he fondly hoped were but a faint type of the way of living in the colony, he should arrive at Adelaide, after being wet up to his knees, and a ho-

walk of eight miles, "hungry, thirsty, and fatigued—covered with dust and perspiration—and with feelings of shame and disappointment at being so taken in?" Is it surprising that his recollection of Adelaide should be embittered, and that he should reflect with feelings of irritation upon a dinner "rough, dirty, and uncomfortable," consisting "merely of a baked leg of mutton at the top, with a baked shoulder at bottom, and a dish of small potatoes in the middle—*nothing else whatever*—neither pie, pudding, or cheese." Contrast this bill of fare with what had been daily on board ship, and judge how a person such as Mr. James seems to be must have felt the difference. There is quite a pathos in all his list of grievances: as if his standard for the casualties of the voyage and refreshment after it, had been taken from a lord mayor's voyage down the river, on a hot midsummer's day, and back to Blackwall for the pleasures of turtle, white bait, and venison. Think what his worship and the worshipful company would feel, if after the fatigues of the day they were shown into the room at Lovegrove's to a table spread with a dirty cloth, and graced with "*nothing else whatever*" besides bread and cheese and porter, and then sympathise with Mr. James. We are sorry to part with him at such a dismal time, but must turn to the views of more matter-of-fact writers. And to prevent the need for returning again to this book, it may be as well to say here, that it seems to us quite unfit to be taken as authority on any one subject. The writer seems to have a notion that his advice is of more value than others set by it; and because it appears to have been scarcely noticed when he was disposed to obtrude it, resents the neglect accordingly. For style and matter, his book is very much what might have been expected, had it been written by the sort of persons whom he describes as most useless, or, to soften the term, least likely to succeed in the colony; persons, who, according to his own description, not having "capital either in their hands or pockets," find "it is of little use having it in their heads" (p. 38, 73): sharp and quick rather than sound, disposed to stand upon their intellectual superiority, not inclined to work steadily in any branch of trade or farming; who would consider it "a great sacrifice (simply of course on the score of *discomforts*) to lead a hermit life for five or six years," and follow and tend their own flocks, yet without capital to procure the labours of others: persons, in short, entirely out of their element, who naturally must soon tire of the colony, and as naturally, when they come away, (a step likely to become necessary before long,) will not bestow much commendation on the place and system where their deserts have been so appreciated. As for Mr. James himself, he has too much taste for feasting not to have been disgusted with the roughs of a new settlement. In

justice, however, to the reputation of the rising colony it is right to state, that the settlers are *not* forgetful of their stomachs. Mr. Morphett, a great authority in Australian matters, speaks briefly, but as if he well understood the subject, on "the style of living and tone of society" at Adelaide, "the neatly and in some cases elegantly spread dinner tables—well cooked dishes—champagne, hock, claret, and maraschino—the presence of some well dressed and well bred women—and the soothing strains of a piano." How came Mr. James to be so unfortunate as not to fall in with these "agrémens."

As to the real condition of the colony, it really does seem quite idle to speak of it as a failure, or to question its offering considerable inducements to a person intending to emigrate. To suppose that it combines all the advantages of other colonies put together, or that a person is to make a fortune as it were by simply remaining there for a few years, and without well considering what he has to do and how best to do it, and forming his plans with all the prudence he can, is assuming what no one in his senses ever claimed for it. Whether also other colonies may not be preferable is a matter of inquiry. But it seems undeniable, that the South Australian emigrant, if there have been reasonable prudence in his first step, has a great opening, and under very favourable circumstances for making himself an independence, without any extraordinary hardships, without having to cut himself off from all social intercourse, and without more risk of casualties than elsewhere, and in a very fine and genial climate. South Australia has its peculiar advantages: so have other colonies. The intending emigrant must endeavour to strike the balance between them as he best can. Constitution, tastes, capital, connexion, previous habits, and previous acquaintance with this or that branch of industry, in which there is most likelihood of thriving in one or other colony, all these are points for consideration and consultation before a man embarks himself in a speculation, where the stake is the chance of making or improving a fortune; and in which he not only embarks his capital, but himself, leaving his home and country, and giving himself up to superintend his own adventure for a course of years. If he embarks ignorantly, without having first well considered these, he has himself to blame when he finds the colony does not turn out to him the *El Dorado* of his groundless fancies.

A few extracts on the actual condition and progress of the colony shall be here given, upon authority, which one certainly ought to be able to trust.

At a meeting of the provincial council in April last, the late

governor, Colonel Gawler, in the financial paper, which he then read, made the following statement:—

“The establishment of the colony has cost a large sum, but it is probable that no British province has ever attained to the same condition, at, to say the least, a smaller price. However great the expenditure may be, the results are great also. Three years and a half ago the spot on which we are now standing was a desert unknown to Europeans. Now we are surrounded by a populous, and, to a considerable extent, handsome city. Our principal streets are lined with well filled warehouses and shops, and crowded by all the attendants of active traffic. Handsome and substantial buildings are to be seen on every side, and are rapidly increasing. Our port, which a few years since was an unknown salt water creek, covered only by water-fowl and enclosed in a mangrove swamp, is now filled with large shipping from Europe, India, and the neighbouring colonies. The swamp is traversed by a substantial road, and handsome wharfs and warehouses are rising on its borders. A steam tug is promised by the commissioners, and with such conveniences there will not be a finer harbour for vessels drawing under sixteen feet water. Ships of larger dimensions may discharge their cargoes from the wharf, which is in itself a secure roadstead. The neighbourhood of the capital is studded with numerous and populous suburbs and villages; while the more distant country is rapidly assuming in population that healthy and natural proportion, which it ought, to the metropolis. Farming establishments are in active formation on every side, and it is now a matter not merely of hope, but of sober expectation, that our magnificent agricultural vallies will soon be filled with produce sufficient for home consumption. Flocks and herds of cattle from New South Wales, following each other in countless succession, already cover a tract of 200 miles in length.”

In a letter of the 6th April, 1840, he writes—

“The inhabitants of Adelaide and its immediate neighbourhood I consider about 8000 souls. In the outports and rural settlements there are from 4000 to 5000 more settlers. . . . Before this letter shall have reached England, it is most reasonably probable that our rural population will have increased by one half, and that before an answer can return to me, it will have at least doubled its numbers.”

This very rapid growth is the more remarkable, if contrasted with the case at Swan River or in Van Dieman's Land. Swan River has been a settlement about a dozen years, or nearly so, and there is not a population of above 3000 now, and after forty years from its first settlement, there are, it is believed, not many more in Van Dieman's Land.

The Commissioners' Report states the amount of sales of public land in the colony was 95,059/. in the year 1839, and the justice of their remark upon this can hardly be disputed, viz. that “when capitalists residing in the colony pay down such a sum for land, which they have seen and examined for themselves, the fertility of

the soil, and the superior advantages which it offers to opulent settlers, are established upon evidence, to which no suspicion can attach."—*Report*, p. 10.

Some notion again may be formed of the condition of a colony from the stir of business in it. Where a place is dwindling in importance, and there is a growing bad opinion of it, capital will not be invested, there will be diminishing demand and decreasing supply. There will be little doing. We have lately taken up a number of the *South Australian Register*, and have come there upon advertisements, which certainly indicate that there must be a good deal of capital in the colony, and many anxious to invest it there, not to withdraw it. Such as an advertisement for the sale of 10,000 sheep on their way overland to the colony, another for the sale of 800 head of cattle and 40 horses, an evidence surely, that pasture must be abundant. Then, besides various other advertisements for sale and purchase of sheep, bullock cows, wines, &c. &c. there are Waterloo House advertisements of finery on sale, others of religious tracts, others about the term of boarding houses.

We will add the testimony of the present governor, Captain Grey, who sailed about three months ago. In replying to an address of the committee of the *South Australian Society*, he says—

"I trust that prosperity may attend my administration of the affairs of that colony, and am the more anxious on this point, from the conviction I feel, that South Australia possesses resources of no ordinary kind. After having visited many portions of Australia, I am confident that no part of that continent excels, and that but few equal, South Australia in fertility of soil and other natural capabilities."

Upon this head, the *Fourth Report of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia*, printed by order of the House of Commons, may be consulted, p. 12—15.

It has been the misfortune, however, of this, as of other colonies, to have been over-puffed. People have bought land realising as if they supposed that they could of course sell it at a profit to the next person they chanced to meet, and that every day's holding ought to give it an increasing marketable value, and that it would "fructify" of itself, without any looking after or any outlay of capital. They have sent out flocks, and expected much increase from them as if the wool would of itself become double milled superfine Saxony cloth on the voyage home. It is hard to blame the colony for having failed to realize such expectations. But things find their level. And as the colony settles down into a natural healthy state, proprietors looking after their own land and holding it for a possession not as a mere speculation

ion, and the market for shares becoming flat, it will be decided as a failure, and some new favourite spot will be the theme for and jobbers, who want something to gamble in, not to hold. It will then take its place gradually as other colonies, as a place for permanent investment of money, according to its own real advantages, whether of soil, climate, position, and such like, as they are found really to be, and as the report of the actual condition of residents will prove it to be. There may be, for a while, a kind of check given to the hitherto rapid growth (as some say unparalleled) of the colony, from disappointment of foolish expectations, and from the fever of speculation setting some other way, but the colony will not suffer on the long run. If it be what numbers of most respectable competent authorities pronounce it, it will increase and be an important settlement.

Mere prosperity puffs are readily conceived; such as, how very one who goes out makes his fortune—how all are happy and healthy in South Australia—how, since it is not a convict settlement, therefore there is no crime—how there is no loss in lambing season—how the flocks are never thirsty, except when and where there is plenty of water—how all fruits and vegetables come in succession, just as they are wished. These are ordinary puffs. But we have met with two of such rare sublimity, that we cannot resist extracting both. The first is the account of the first location,” quoted in “the Land of Promise,” from the South Australian Record.

“The landing of the little band in their new country, recalls the awful emigration of Noah, and the promise that painted his horizon, and that of Moses. It reminds us of the Tyrians at Carthage, of Æneas and the dominions of the west, which tradition tells us was founded by him: of the stout-hearted Britons, who built up the great, though still young nations of America; and nearer to the present scene, the colonies, whose errors of constitution have served as an impressive lesson, while their unexampled prosperity points to the commercial fortune of the newer settlement. To the emigrant who was present at the formal assumption of the new country, and believed according to the justest hopes, that he was assisting at the foundation of a new people, every occurrence of the day was more momentous, than if they had been awaiting in the royal bed-chamber the birth of a future king. They were ushering into existence a whole nation. To those who, from a distance, contemplate the placing of a people, where late there was a blank in the great map of the world, and who have the glorious expectation of seeing within the short space of man’s life, in one and the same spot, a desert, settlement, and a busy city, every act of the solemnity is full of meaning, intrinsic or extrinsic.” [We have not the book by us, but we think there was mention of God save the king sung, and three cheers given, if so, “full of meaning, intrinsic or extrinsic.”] “It forms the

bright strong line between barbarism and busy civilization. It is the first act in realising the dream of the philanthropist, the emigrant, and the ambitious commercialist, who, like Alexander, but with less equivocal reason, find the civilized world too small for their activity and the desires."—p. 100.

Verily there is no learning, ancient or modern, classic or barbarian, mythological or theological, the writer must not have ransacked for this choice extract. The other, which is the author's of the "Land of Promise," is even still bolder: for descending from the cloudy height of declamation and generalities he comes to facts, and draws a picture of what the emigrant labourer is really to look to making his own.

"The man, who left England not very different from a pauper is now a land-owner; and a land-owner in a place, where an acre of land worth from 40*l.* to 150*l.* But the position of the same man in society ten years hence, defies calculation or conjecture. Had he stayed in England, ten years hence he might have been living in a workhouse and glad to live there too. But the comparison does not stop there. How does it not affect his children? Compare the hard-worked, coarsely fed, uneducated clown, (for no working man can secure even a decent education to his child as things go) sometimes a labourer, sometimes glad to go on errands, or to clean boots and shoes, rude, care-worn, sulky, stupidly shouldering along in fustian clothes and hob-nailed shoes—compare such a being with the land-owner of South Australia, perhaps a merchant, possibly a member of the local legislature; intelligent, comfortable, happy, and promoting happiness all around him. It is the same child of the same man, under different circumstances. The two pictures may seem highly coloured; but they are in fact the probable consequences of the two different modes of living at the father's choice."—p. 202.

Why, such a passage, publicly and impressively read in the market-place of a sea-port town, with a ship waiting in the offing would be enough to depopulate it of all the able-bodied inhabitants, and to set all the bachelors on immediately seeking partners for the voyage, in the hope of such an illustrious progeny. It is candid to allow the two pictures "*may seem* highly coloured. Nevertheless is it to be wondered that there should be a sort of indignant sense of disappointment in the public mind against settlement, which, after so auspicious and august a commencement, has so little realised such sober anticipation of its success.

To descend, however, to a calmer judgment on the facts and evidence on which to found an opinion. The truth of the case is, perhaps, not very far from this:—First, the great question about the climate is, how far the drought will affect productivity and the healthy condition of stock? Water is the want of the country. Yet, even this seems to be rather from the scorching heat of three months in the year, than from absence of rain. M

James states, that "by a register kept very accurately at the government house, during the whole of the year 1837, it rained 15 days and clear 250, and this may be reckoned upon as a fair average of a series of years." (Report, p. 13). Secondly; On this account the vegetation there presents to an European eye a dry parched appearance, though the pasture is good and nutritious.— "I can recollect perfectly well," says Mr. Morphett, "the disconcerted and dismal look with which most of the first party regarded from the deck of the ship, the dried and scorched appearance of the plains, which, to their English ideas, betokened little short of barrenness. So that a hasty survey of the country is likely to leave an unfavourable impression." (*Land of Promise*, p. 11.) Thirdly; The climate is undoubtedly healthy. Fourthly; That the productiveness of the soil cannot yet be spoken of with certainty. It may turn out worse than it appears, as it gets worked, and as there becomes need to grow grasses, it may prove deeper and richer along the vallies and plains than expected. Fifthly; That upon the whole, with a view to all ends contemplated, the spot selected for the capital has been judiciously chosen, though the plan for it may be too extensive. Other spots might be preferable in this or that respect, but the country about Adelaide combined the most of them.

The Commissioners stated the best site for the first town would be that which combined in the highest degree the following advantages; a commodious harbour, safe and accessible at all seasons of the year; a considerable tract of fertile land immediately adjoining; an abundant supply of fresh water; facilities for internal communication; facilities for communication with other parts; distance from the limits of the colony, as a means of avoiding interference from without, in the principle of colonization, and the neighbourhood of extensive sheep-walks; also, of a secondary value, a supply of building materials, as timber, stone or brick, earth and lime, facilities for drainage and coal. (*Land of Promise*, p. 97.) Port Lincoln, the only place put forward as preferable to Adelaide for the site of the capital, "has no good or clear land, and but one spring of water, and that below high water mark. The harbour is surrounded by shoals, rocks, tide ripples, and other difficulties, which render the approach very dangerous; and if these passed, the harbour is all that has been described."

Our present system of colonization is very much against a ready progressive advancement of a new settlement, and would so far to account for sudden change of public opinion about the colony. As with other things, so is government glad to get rid of the outlay, risk, and responsibility of planning and conducting the settlement of colonies. Colonization, instead of being a government

concern, as it ought to be, is an affair of a company of private individuals. Instead of being conducted by the ruling powers, relieve the pressure on the means of subsistence of the population at home, and to provide for the maintenance and general welfare, so far as may be, of those who are induced to emigrate; it is an association of individuals for enriching themselves—a money speculation—in which the emigrants are chiefly viewed as instruments of wealth. That is what they are wanted for, and simply for that the company desires to procure them. If sending of machinery would ensure a higher rate of interest on the shares, the directors of the company would charter ships to convey machinery, instead of men, women, and children. How should it be otherwise? the shareholders having no other interest in the concern than as an investment for money. Philanthropy! it would be absurd to name it as prompting the purchaser of town and country allotment in and near Adelaide to buy. He would, of course, laugh at the notion of being complimented for his disinterested benevolence, and for his desire to ameliorate the condition of his suffering countrymen at home, because he had invested a large sum in South Australian shares. Hence it comes, that persons purchase land without the smallest thought about the colony as a colony, or of doing any thing for the benefit of the settlers, except upon a reasonable consideration of profit to result from it. It is bought and sold as no more than an investment in the stocks. This sort of land-jobbing, by persons who neither have, nor ever think of having, a real interest in the concerns of the colony, beyond a money interest, must be prejudicial to the colony. There will be impatience about realizing the investment; so immediate return is looked for. The colony is thus forced, as it were, into an unnatural state. It is expected to discharge the functions of a full-grown state all at once: it is expected that it should support itself and run alone almost as soon as born.

“Planting of colonies,” says Lord Bacon, “is like planting of wood for you must make account to lose almost twenty years’ profit, and expect the recompence in the end: for the principal thing, which hath been the destruction of most plantations, hath been the bare and hasty drawing of profits in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the plantations, and no further. . . . Let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planted but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain.”—*Essay of Plantations*.

It is but justice, however, to state, that little as it might have

been to be expected, considering how much the subject of colonization is brought before the public as a mere investment for money, yet much care and attention has been given to benefit emigrants. The Commissioners' Report and the writers of the works at the head of this article all recognize the duty of promoting their welfare to the utmost.

The Commissioners state:—

"The remuneration paid to the various agents employed throughout the country in selecting emigrants, was so regulated as to give to each agent a direct pecuniary interest in the good conduct of the labourers he selects for a free passage; that in order to promote the formation of habits of temperance amongst the emigrants during the voyage, all intoxicating liquors are excluded from the usual dietary, while care is taken to place the disposal of the surgeon superintendent a sufficient supply of wine and porter to be used as medical comforts in cases of depression or disease; that every emigrant ship is furnished with a library, consisting of moral and religious tracts and of books of useful and entertaining knowledge, and that, in ships conveying 150 emigrants and upwards, a school-master is appointed and a regular system of moral and intellectual instruction carried on during the voyage."—p. 7.

It is true a person might just point out, that all this is done, with the view of "securing to the colony the incalculable advantage of an industrious and moral population;" that is to say, not so much for the sake of the emigrant, but to set off the colony to advantage in that particular, in which its unfortunate penal neighbours must be at disadvantage. Again, it is stated by one of the writers, that "the directors have made every effort to ensure the observance of religious worship regularly on board their ships and at each of their stations in the colony. They have supplied their overseers on shore with religious books . . . and they state, that they shall be happy to receive donations of books from their constituents for this worthy purpose . . . they neither send ardent spirits nor countenance such as do."

"On arriving at Port Adelaide the emigrants are consigned to the care of the emigration agent," who provides their lodging and directs them how to obtain employment. "After a few weeks the emigrants are required to leave the commissioners' habitations to make room for new comers." The colonization commissioners' instructions direct their resident commissioner to "take care that no labouring emigrant falls into a state of destitution." He is authorized to provide a maintenance for all such persons and their families, until they shall have obtained, or whenever they shall be without employment, at wages adequate to their support, upon the public works.—(See *Capper*, 161).

It is pleasant to see this. It is some little compensation for the righteous indifference of the rulers of the state, that an associa-

tion of private individuals for mere business relations with the colony, should do something, when the state does nothing for her own people. For South Australia is distinguished from all British colonies by the circumstances, that no provision has been made by the state for the promotion of religion.* "No part of the public resources is, or is to be, applied to religious purposes." Parliament granted this special boon for the welfare of the new colony that in the administration of its finances all religious purposes should be excluded. And people are found to glory in this as a privileged immunity, that religion is to be entirely left to itself.

Let it not then be wondered at, that nothing has been said of the religious case of the colony. It is after the fashion of political economists and philosophical historians to discuss such subjects as colonies, government and the like, without allusion to a subject which does not occur to them as having a place in that which they are concerned with. Religion has its proper pigeon-hole, and unless there be direct application for it, should not be drawn out of its recess and mixed up with other articles. What, for instance, can it have to do with colonization? the political economist might ask. "The light in which the present state of our country calls upon us to view colonization, is as a drainage for our surplus population. Therefore the chief point to be considered is, how to dispose this population most advantageously to the mother country and at the least outlay of skill, time, and capital. Granted: and therefore further, a capacious tunnel beneath the sea, so contrived, that our surplus once safely settled in it, might be hermetically sealed up, so as to cause no more trouble or expense, would be better to this end than any ordinary plan of colonization. Government would console itself in its paternal regrets for seeing no more of them with pronouncing it "a happy release." Indeed the manner in which ship-loads of emigrants are exported looks too much like the mere desire to be rid of them, have no further thought or care about them: or at least as if they thought on what their future religious opportunities may be neglected crossed the minds of those who promote their removal. However, since the subject of religion might enter into a personal calculation while considering the desirableness of leaving native country, some little notice shall be taken of it here, albeit a political economist might, as we observed, hold it an unnecessary embarrassment in adjusting the pros and cons, which deserve to be weighed, to introduce any thing of this extraneous matter of religion. Mr. Malthus furnishes a curious instance of this. He is apologising for those, who, even after the profit and loss view on the score of bodily comfort, have decided in favour

* See Gladstone, p. 269.

emigration, yet hesitate about it. He really does not condemn them, but rather suggests the excuse of amiable weakness: and with equal candour and discrimination he maintains, that the fact of their hesitation does not in itself disprove that what they hesitate to exchange is nevertheless a lot of hardship.

“It will be said, that, when a prospect of advantageous emigration is offered, it is the fault of the people themselves, if, instead of accepting it, they prefer a life of celibacy or extreme poverty in their own country. Is it then a fault for a man to feel an attachment to his native soil, to love the parents that nurtured him, his kindred, his friends, and the companions of his early years? Or is it no evil that he suffers, because he consents to bear it, rather than snap those cords, which nature has wound in close and intricate folds round the human heart?”—*On Population*, vol. ii. 17.

Is it not a little surprising that a clergyman should not have thought of another reason, which might well make a man pause, before he settled in a far distant land, where no provision at all was offered him for serving his God, for receiving the holy offices of his faith, where he would be quite cut off from all outward participation in the privileges of a member of Christ, where, if children were born to him, he could not answer for their being grafted into the body of Christ's Church, where, if he or they died, he could not secure the rites of Christian burial. As poor people say, it is a fine thing to be a scholar, so say we, it is a fine thing to be a political economist, but to be sure it does not always elp a man to a clearer common sense view of things. We do really mean to take it for granted without offering any proof, that many would pause upon this consideration, and that all ought very well to weigh it, before they entailed upon themselves the consequences of such a step.

There is perhaps more reason for the emigrant turning his schemes towards South Australia to consider this, than in the case of other colonies. This colony has the unenviable distinction of being the only British colony, we believe, no part of the public resources of which is, or is to be, applied to religious purposes. The voluntary system alone is contemplated. Let us see what the emigrant has to look to, and how the system has worked. We will answer this by quoting a passage from a recent periodical, which speaks favourably of the religious provision for this colony.

“The religious wants of the settlers have also been duly cared for: and in so doing, the directors have evinced freedom from any thing in the shape of prejudice, by offering a free cabin passage to ministers of every denomination, provided the grounds of application in each case are satisfactory to the Board. The principal condition imposed by the Board is, that there should be a congregation, that is, that there should

be a number of persons, whose opinions the minister applying for a passage represents, sufficiently large to render a spiritual pastor necessary.

We certainly were not a little surprised to light upon this passage in a contemporary publication. This, then, the editor considers to be *duly caring for religious wants*, from whence it would appear, first, that where there is no demand, there need be no supply of religious teachers; that is, supposing a clergyman applied to such a board of directors for a free passage to a settlement of Jews, Quakers, or Baptists, to the work of endeavouring to convert whom he desired to devote himself, they would refuse it on the ground that he did not represent the opinions of any number of persons there. It is a strange sounding phrase, that a minister is to be the representative of the opinions of those for whom he ministers. Secondly, a spiritual pastor is not necessary until a congregation reach a certain numerical amount. That is to say, that supposing there chanced to be fifty churchmen in a settlement, where the rest were Independents or Quakers, then fifty would not be considered to need a pastor, because there lacked five or what not, of the "sufficiently large" number, though meanwhile they would be cut off from the ministrations of the Church. God would have spared a whole city for ten righteous sake. Would the directors consider ten times ten a number worth looking after by a pastor? Thirdly, it appears hence, that all sects and heresies should be set upon an equal footing with the Church, and the board of directors should in their governing capacity be strictly impartial, in showing no preference to the propagation of truth, in putting no manner of check upon but rather encouraging the diffusion of error, at least when the error has attained a certain numerical strength. Would they grant free passage to one of the Socialist denomination, or the Jewish or the Socinian denomination? Consistently with their principles they ought, provided only such an applicant represented the opinions of a sufficient number to make his ministry necessary. And what has been the demand in the colony? Or, rather what has been the supply resulting? "The inhabitants of Adelaide and its immediate neighbourhood amount, I consider, to about 8000 souls. For them there is one church completed which will hold 600. Another is commenced for 600 more." Again Colonel Gawler writes:—

"It is, I consider, of very great consequence, that we should not wait for congregations to build Churches, but that Churches should spring up in advance of the increase of population to receive congregations. Church cannot be built under five or six months, and emigrants for that length of time without the accommodation, are very likely fall into indifference or to join other denominations. Among the s

ers in a new colony a large proportion, by giving up old habits and associations in the mother country, have loosened their attachment to early religious forms, and are ready to unite with the first congregation that presents itself conveniently to them. It would give me great satisfaction to see a bishop appointed to this province alone: a man in that office of diligence and earnest piety would have an immense sphere of usefulness before him in procuring and stationing his clergy, and urging the erection of schools and churches.

"It is strange, that, while men of all other professions and occupations should have had boldness of speculation enough to venture their fortunes in South Australia, there should not have been found clergymen with boldness of faith enough to undertake a similar risk. Mr. Howard is the only one in the province. They might, I conceive, obtain free passages by offering themselves for the very important office of superintendent of emigrants in large ships."

There is a great deal that is thoughtful and excellent in this letter. There are those who would feel the latter part as almost a call upon them. Would that the feeling might rest in the breasts of a few of them, and ripen into the steady determination to go over and help them!" There is indeed much to be done. There are great discouragements; many things from which a person shrinks, but there is also a brighter side. At present there seems all confusion. Men seem to blend all denominations together as if they were all equally true. To begin with the person who ought to take the lead in opening people's eyes—Mr. Howard, the only clergyman there. The writer of the *Land of Promise* says of him, "he is much respected by all parties. He has declared his readiness to extend the right-hand of fellowship to all who love the Lord Jesus in all sincerity."—p. 130.

Mr. James, we think, observes somewhere, that Mr. Howard and Mr. Stow "are an honour to their respective churches." The Commissioners' Report speaks of the schools conducted by the Rev. J. Q. Stowe, the Rev. Mr. M'Gowan, the Rev. Mr. Drummond, and the Rev. J. Skey. We believe that all these gentlemen are severally teachers of different denominations, not one of them being a minister of the Church; yet there is nothing to mark this in the Report. We have heard also that Colonel Gawler, the governor, attended the laying the first stone of some meeting, if he did not himself lay it. What entire confusion all this must create in men's minds, having very small acquaintance with the nature and blessings peculiar to the Church, to begin with, being very much occupied, perhaps unable to partake of her ministry except at long intervals, and seeing all distinction thus practically merged. An instance may be given of how little men consider the true nature of Church authority, and whence it is derived. The charter granted to this province provides that it shall not be

subject to any laws of the rest of Australia; and thence, influenced by confusion between the Church as she is in herself, and as she is established, persons concluded, that for the Bishop of Australia to exercise any jurisdiction in the province would be an infringement of the charter; and, accordingly, the province has stood upon its being exempt from his pastoral superintendence as a kind of privilege, and, as we have understood, protest has been made against his exercising any episcopal functions in or for the province.

However, great allowance is to be made for all sorts of confusions like these, among well-meaning but ill-instructed persons. The acts and declarations of government at home, and even more in our colonies, if we had an exact account of them, have tended much to unsettle men's minds about the Church—to give a kind of sanction and authority to old worn-out saws of liberalism, heresy and schism, and to make them forget there is an article in the Creed which proclaims the Church One Catholic and Apostolic. They have acted, as near as they well could, as if the held the Gibbonian sneer to be true, that in their minds all religions were equally true, and all equally false.* Is it to be wondered at, that these things should have an effect where the Church is tyrannized over and degraded by state authorities, in which there is no discipline, and even where those respected in it display any thing of bold and self-denying zeal beyond the usual practice as extravagant.

Still it is an encouraging sign for the state of the Church in the colonies to know, that not a few feel that they are bound to make sacrifices for the establishment of the truth in those settlements with which they are connected by purchase of land or relations of trade, and are willing to do so. One individual has given 2000*l.* for building a church and parsonage, with two hundred acres of land in Adelaide, producing 150*l.* a year. Others also have given money and land, not of course after the same measure. Why might not those who are disposed to do what they can year by year invest a given portion (which they can settle with themselves) of the increase God may give them on their colonial property and produce, for the benefit of that colony; the interest of the money to be paid year by year to the bishop, if there be one, or to other trustees, to be by him or them dispensed in augmentation of such stipends as might be fit?

At best, however, we present but a poor appearance compared with the doings of men in time past, poor in respect of our cau-

* How differently some of the government instructions to colonial governors would run from the tenor of the advice of Lord Bacon to Sir G. Villiers about the administration of the colonies. "For the discipline of the Church in those parts, it will be necessary that it agree with that which is settled in England, else it will make a schism or a rent in Christ's coat, which must be seamless."

and provision for holy things, and of our sacrifices for maintaining them, and in respect of the value we seem to entertain for a Christian's birth-right and privileges.

Thus, in Canada, we are for resuming what was once granted for the benefit of the Church, as in the case of the clergy reserves, and that without giving anything like a fair equivalent. At home, when the religious wants of the nation have multiplied cent. per cent., we frame a scheme for supplying them, not out of our own, but by taking up, in order to redistribute, some of the funds which the Church already has in possession. The notion of a dominant Church, of one body to be adhered to, upheld and promoted, because of the truth, of which it is the witness, keeper and interpreter, is scouted and protested against as bigotry and intolerance. The only provision abroad, that religion is to find from the state, is to provide it in the form it may be wished, here or there, by a given respectable number of its subjects, of this or that denomination or persuasion: the state, as a state, entertaining all persuasions and avowing none. Its acts in contributing to the support, directly or indirectly, of all kinds of bodies calling themselves Christian, are a kind of perpetual repetition of the question, "What is truth?" So much for the public acts of the government of a Christian country in an age priding itself on enlightened and enlarged views.

We may look a moment to what has been done in other times and by other nations, as to providing for religious wants of colonies. Present practice, without further commentary, sufficiently proves with how little sympathy such views would be regarded in our times. Robertson thus describes the conduct of Spain towards her American colonies: "The inconsiderate zeal of the Spanish legislators admitted them (tithes) into America in their full extent, and at once imposed on their infant colonies a burden, which is in no slight degree oppressive to society, even in its most improved state." Probably society "in its most improved state," according to Robertson, would find it most oppressive, because he would so describe a state of society, which had most artificial wants, and therefore also the keenest sense of the value of money. He himself calls "the payment of tithes a heavy tax on industry," and adds, that "if the exaction of them be not regulated and circumscribed by the wisdom of the civil magistrate, it becomes intolerable and ruinous."—(*Robertson's America*, iii. 315. 8vo. edition.) To resume his description: "The hierarchy is established in America in the same form as in Spain, with its full train of archbishops, bishops, deans, and other dignitaries. The inferior clergy are divided into three classes, under the denomination of *curas*, *doctrineros*, and *missioneros*. The first are parish priests in those parts of the country where the Spaniards have settled. The

second have the charge of such districts as are inhabited by Indians subjected to the Spanish government, and living under its protection. The third are employed in converting and instructing those fiercer tribes, which disdain submission to the Spanish yoke, and live in remote or inaccessible regions, to which the Spanish arms have not penetrated.”—(p. 333.) All that this is quoted for is to show, that a great deal was done for the religious improvement of their colonies, not only for emigrants, but also for newly-acquired native subjects, nor were even the independent and hostile tribes left without an effort for their conversion; so much done as to offend the modern historian.

To be sure Robertson does not appear to be a writer, who considers the subject of religion to belong at all to the subject of the settlement of colonies. Thus he professes to relate the history of the colony of Virginia in detail, considering it to merit particular attention. He says, “it (the history) will exhibit a spectacle no less striking than instructive, and presents an opportunity, which rarely occurs, of contemplating a society in the first moment of its political existence, and of observing how its spirit forms in its infant state, how its principles begin to unfold as it advances, and how those characteristic qualities, which distinguish its maturer age, are successively acquired.”—(Book ix. p. 37, 4to. edition.) There are more than fifty pages of this historical sketch, and the religious state of the colony is, we think, never so much as mentioned. But we may be sure such men as Lord Southampton, Sir Edwin Sandys, and Nicolas Ferrar, would not have been leading persons in the direction of the Virginian Company, without turning their attention and sending instructions to the colony on this subject. Indeed such passages as those in the life of Ferrar, relating to the business of the Virginian Company, are sufficient to establish this. For when the company’s instructions and letters had been read before the council, which was examining into their affairs with the determination to lay hold on any plan for dissolving the company and depriving it of its royal charter, the Marquis of Hamilton observed to the board, “I do assure you, that if our attendance here were for many days, I, for my part, would willingly sit them out to hear so *pious*, so wise, and indeed politic instructions as these are.” And to the same effect the Earl of Pembroke, “they (the letters) abound with soundness of good matter and profitable instruction with respect both to *religion* and policy.”—(*Wordsworth’s Eccles. Biogr.* v. 138.) And his biographer seems to think it likely, that Ferrar had at one time resolved “to settle in Virginia, and spend his life in the conversion of the natives, or other infidels in that country.”—(p. 123.) These papers would be very interesting documents, and might furnish many useful suggestions to companies and colonists.

The case also of Lower Canada is not unworthy of attention as administered by France, both in respect of the zeal and earnestness there seems to have been to make adequate provision for the religious wants of the colonists, and also of the good effect which his care is said to have produced. The extracts are taken from the work of a countryman of Robertson's, John Mac Gregor's "British America." He does not appear to lament, as Robertson, the liberal endowments made for the service of God and the welfare of men's souls, or to think them wasted, even though no immediate effects resulted from them.

"Two years after (i. e. 1622) the Duke de Ventadour, having entered into holy orders, took charge as viceroy of the affairs of New France, solely with the view of converting the savages." There were, it appears, great bickerings and dissensions in the province; and, whether truly or not, religious scruples were alleged as the cause of them. "The cardinal de Richelieu endeavoured to put an end to these causes of dissension by establishing the company of New France. The company, consisting of one hundred associates, engaged to send 800 tradesmen to Canada, and to supply all of those whom they settled in the country with lodging, food, clothing, and implements for three years, after which period they would allow each workman sufficient land to support himself, with the grain necessary for seed. The company also engaged to have 6000 French inhabitants settled in the countries included in their charter before the year 1643, and to establish three priests in each settlement, whom they were bound to provide with every article necessary for their personal comfort, as well as the expenses attending their ministerial labours, for fifteen years; after which the cleared lands were to be granted by the company to the clergy for maintaining the catholic religion in New France." Again, "the ardent spirit of enthusiasm, which went forth during that age, to accomplish the conversion of the aborigines of America, led to the establishment of religious institutions in Canada; and though these establishments did little for the immediate improvement of the colony, yet, as points of possession occupied by persons whose avocations were professedly holy and useful, they formed the foundation on which arose the superstructure of those morals and habits that still, and will long, characterize the Gallo-Canadians." We have heard or read it somewhere, that the Lower Canadians have always hung much together in their settlements, being unwilling to remove where they would be beyond the sound of a church bell.

Let any one judge, which reads more like the manner of colonizing becoming a Christian nation, that pursued by the Spaniards or French towards their colonies, or that by England now towards her Australian settlements. She sends forth, and encour-

rages or facilitates the sending forth of, thousands to that land and extends no care to keep them in the faith of their fathers, and to supply them with those religious privileges they had opportunity for at home. She leaves them, as the ostrich her eggs, in the waste sandy desert, to be acted on by God's ordinary influences as they may chance to come; to the chilling, scattering winds of vain doctrine, or the genial warmth of mere natural piety as may be, unknowing and careless what they may be hatched into.—What can be more grotesque than to read almost five long folio pages out of the Commissioners' Report of twenty-seven, enlarging on the subject of a constitution for the province, and near two upon the subject of municipal corporations, recommending to her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, as if it were a thing of pressing importance, "that the towns of South Australia respectively, as they acquire a population of two thousand, may, upon application to the governor and council of the province, obtain a *municipal corporation*, consisting of a common council of at least fifteen members, a body of aldermen, of at least three members, and a mayor;" with further suggestions for the allaying and softening party feeling, and party disappointment in the elections. Really it has an air of childishness about it which is quite absurd. It is like a nurse's talk to children, that "Georgy Porgy shall by-and-bye ride in a coachy poachy." To be sure, there is a graver view of such folly. The children ask, or at any rate need bread, and the parents give them a stone; or perhaps it may be more truly said, promise them a scorpion—the scorpion of miserable corporation feuds, jealousies and corruptions, to sting them.

We would, in conclusion, offer a suggestion or two respecting three classes of persons in different ways concerned in emigration matters.

First. Since the state withdraws from its duty, it is the more incumbent for individuals to consider what they may do. When landlords or companies induce the poor to emigrate, let them consider the duty of supplying to them those Christian privileges from which they are withdrawing them. If emigration is to their benefit as a company, in raising the value of land in the colony, or as landlords at home, in lightening them of the burden of a poor overgrown population, let them be ready to make sacrifices, and lessen the gain of the removal of their poorer brethren, by providing for them Church and pastor—the means of Christian instruction, the Christian sacramental means of grace. How can clergymen recommend, or rather not check parishioners, who might be inclined to emigrate, simply on the ground that there seems no small responsibility involved in a clergyman suffering any one committed to his charge to cut himself off from the ap-

pointed and promised channels of divine grace, without setting before him what his silence would certainly be a sort of encouragement to make light account of? Does it seem right and faithful to let a person who has been accustomed to look to you as one to advise and warn him about spiritual things, to give any countenance to the notion, that you do not think it a very serious thing to go where all these things may be lacking to him?

Secondly. People of education should be a little more thoughtful than is implied in the way they act and speak about emigration. You hear of persons well educated and well instructed embarking for Australia simply to make a fortune, who must be well aware, that while they are away, it is probable their privileges as members of the visible Church on earth must be, as it were suspended. They will be in the way of no ministerial offices of the Church—no sacraments, no prayers, no Christian burial. They seem as if they thought their spiritual life would be in no way impaired or injured by this kind of suspension in the exercise of its functions, and that they will be where they were at any rate, when after a lapse of years they return home again, and resume what has been so long broken off. They set about making their fortunes before strengthening themselves spiritually and laying up for themselves a store of better treasure in heaven, through the strengthening means of grace, to be had only within the Church and her ministrations. Would a Christian of primitive days, for money, have cut himself off from the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, from the breaking of bread and prayer?

Thirdly. Labouring people should also reflect, and not pass over all considerations of religion, when they entertain the subject of emigration. It would be a very good thing if they made it a point that they would not go out unless a clergyman was provided for them. If they did so, it would of course be provided. It would only be for a sufficient number to unite in making this demand, and to express a willingness to go out if this were provided for them. These are the kind of persons who would be most sought for, as more likely to be useful members of society in the new land, more likely to settle and make it their home, and to raise the tone of those about them. It has been before said, that there is much in the Commissioners' Report and in the books on this subject, which show the writers are aware they have a duty to make some provision, and do not wish to evade it. Neither is the sort of case without precedent. The Protestants of Zillerthal went from Hamburg in a body with their pastor, and settled in a body near Adelaide as an entire village.

ART. V.—1. *Clerical and Religious Advertisements.*
2. *The Newspapers of the Day.*

IF it be asked, what are the Annals and Fasti of England and the English Church, we know not what answer to give, except it be the Newspapers; which are not only a fuller, but also a more authentic and imperishable record of our times, than tablets of brass or marble. With a kind of photogenic fidelity they give every thing as it is, transmitting to posterity the very shadow and image of things, down to numberless particulars which we overlook ourselves. Everybody sees his own age by the light and colouring of a theory, which partially blinds him to facts. We do not believe even what we see; that is, we see many things as in a dream, taking no note of them; they so little concern our taste or convenience, or our opinions, that to *us* they are not. We may gather how little we really apprehend and recognize what is literally under our eyes, by reading the remarks of foreigners upon our country: and we may form some idea of it by going abroad ourselves. If anybody, be he ever so minute and wakeful an observer, should try to write an account of his own times, so as to convey to posterity a picture as true to fact as human wit and honesty can attain unto, it would still be found, on reference to a file of newspapers, that he had left nine tenths of his story untold and perhaps the most essential features untrue.

It cannot be doubted that the daily press will furnish the most important materials for the future historian. One's head aches to think of the overwhelming labour that awaits him, and the hours wasted in turning over the vast mildewed leaves of the *Times*, or the *Morning Chronicle*. The antiquarian, hunting out changes of fashion, and hoping to light upon bits of quaintness to set off the style of his narrative, will have to run through three hundred times three hundred advertisements, for every year of his search through the former of these journals. The heart sickens at the bare prospect.

It becomes then a most important question, what sort of a figure we make in this same mirror of truth. In the first place we deserve to have very full and particular justice done to our merits, inasmuch as we exact overflowing measure from past generations. With regard to them, we are thoroughly alive to the fact, that historic truth is not to be gained from the direct statements of monkish historians, learned chroniclers, and state apologists, so much as from the indirect testimony of private correspondence, household accounts, poetical satires, the mutual recriminations of hostile parties in Church and State, and the dis-

losures made with regard to the existence and amount of crimes, by the laws enacted to prevent them, and the legal processes gone through for their punishment. Many particular portions of history have been lately developed by this microscopic method, turned inside out as it were, like a piece of tapestry folded up for ages, and now spread before the vulgar eye. There is a work now in the course of publication, from some liberal and not very reverential quarter, which treats the whole history of our country in this "pictorial" manner; and, as it comes within the age of newspapers, gives us some specimens of the uses they will be put to, when posterity shall turn the tables against us.

If, then, we may without irreverence speak of the world lasting two centuries longer, what figure will the Church and the religion of the nineteenth century make in the eyes of the young ladies and gentlemen of the twenty-first, reading, perhaps in school, or at least out of school, some frivolous, gossiping, scandalous history of the deeds and manners of our age, and taking it all for granted, with a most innocent unsuspecting assurance of their own infinite superiority? What again will be thought of us, and especially of our clergy, by the young self-guided philosopher, just come to that particular degree of mental enlargement in which he discovers that all the world is on the wrong cue excepting himself, and who is thereupon referred by some judicious adviser to the nineteenth century, as being one in the chain of witnesses testifying to certain religious doctrines and practices? First then, we will venture a few observations on the advertisements of a clerical or similar character, in the papers and other periodicals. It is very possible, they may not strike others as they do us; but it is also more than possible, that posterity will not see them as the present age does; and this is the sight in which we wish to see them. We do not pretend that anything very very bad is often to be found, especially in the new, and we are ready to admit *more* appropriate, channel that has been found for them, *The Ecclesiastical Gazette*. We look rather to the general effect of them. We grieve to see them increasing; and cannot help fearing that this publication may prove the cause of an indefinite increase, and lead to all the minor arrangements of the Church being made in public, like the hiring of servants at a Michaelmas fair.

We should be sorry to say anything to the prejudice of a periodical of such acknowledged utility: what we have to remark is not against *it*, but against the use made of its columns. They abound in advertisements, some of which may even be called jobbing; while of the rest, whether relating to livings or curacies, many descend too minutely to particular stipulations for so sacred

a matter, and are therefore likely in some degree to lower the tone of clerical feeling, and to scandalize the unclerical reader. Whence these advertisements come,—who put them in,—who answer them,—and what success they usually meet with, is a mystery to us. We might almost say that, in the whole of our acquaintance, we know of none likely to fall into such ways. Yet these advertisements are very numerous and wonderfully on the increase; so that their insertions must bear a pretty fair proportion to the 15,000 clergy of England.

It is certainly by no means the general character of our clergy to be fickle and wandering; not at least of our incumbents. They grow where they are planted, and resign themselves to their positions, as if preferment was a matter of adamant necessity. It is true, that one hears sometimes of young men struggling against fate, and floundering a little before they finally repose. The maiden incumbent enters on his sphere, adopted perhaps rather precipitately, with some poetic dream of extensive and immediate usefulness, pleasant neighbours, affectionate parishioners, honourable occupation, learned ease: in a word, duty and pleasure just so happily mixed and tempered as to keep one another alive. Two or three months dispel the delusion, and if the victim of it be a person of sense, teach him that wherever he goes, it is still the same world; if he be not a man of sense, they will produce the conviction that he has lighted most unfortunately on the most ill-favoured spot in England. Yet we do not think the restlessness of the squeamish incumbent often lasts beyond the age of thirty. By that time he has learnt to bear the yoke.

One might imagine, from a glance at these columns, that the whole clerical population of England were in a state of continual movement and migration, roaming about in quest of a fresh spot of spiritual soil, and on the move again as soon as they have exhausted its freshness, like the Irish with their *conacre* tillage, or the ancient Scythians and Getae, who lived in waggons, and never stayed more than a year in one place:

“Nec cultura placet longior annuâ;
Defunctumque laboribus
Æquali recreat sorte vicarius.”

Yet we are persuaded that neither with regard to incumbencies nor curacies is there really so great a flux and vicissitude; that is, compared with the sum total. It must be remembered, that whatever there is, be it much or little, it is most of it centralized in London, which though not quite, like ancient Rome, the common sewer of nations, yet is the channel through which most clerical wants of all sorts are transmitted. Further, all people conversant with the statistics of popular movements and popular excitements,

Let us a few individuals in active motion here and there will produce the impression of numbers. Whatever is too rapid or too unsettled to be counted appears innumerable. A dozen motes dancing in the sunbeam look a thousand; a few score ants hurrying to and fro pass for a nation; a thousand stars, standing in no order or method or uniform system, twinkling and fading, appearing and disappearing, look millions.

Take any given neighbourhood, and one might really go in some directions many miles, and not find a living in the market, or in hands likely even to bring it there: we might go further still, without hearing of a curate procured by means of an advertisement. With regard to the former, jobbing is so much more a disease than a regular healthy habit of church people and clergymen, that one generally finds, if a living is sold, that it is an old fender, having often changed hands in the like manner; and that of the buyer and the seller, one at least is an inveterate jobber. So persuaded are we that there is at least one jobber, or scrupulous person, in every transaction of this sort, that if any body in want of a living is satisfied he will not be that one, we could almost warn him that he will find the description fulfilled by the other party.

Some years ago, a candidate for orders of our acquaintance saw advertised to be sold a small living in the north, with prospect of early possession, and the curacy, with a title, meanwhile. The curacy was said to be very small at present, but from certain circumstances would probably soon be augmented into a respectable supporting amount. Our friend applied for the particulars, more from curiosity than any serious motive, and found that the "certain circumstances" were nothing more nor less than the talk there then was in pamphlets and radical meetings about equalising livings, by throwing all church property into a common fund—a proposition which, whether just or not, was no very secure foundation for a young gentleman on the point of settling his money upon. Another acquaintance was attracted by a similar announcement of the incumbency of a delightful watering place on the southern coast, the income, from various sources, amounting to something comfortable, and a handsome price being accordingly expected. He went down to the place with his legal adviser, and his head full of tithes, moduses, rents, surplice fees, and mortuaries; and by the help of the said legal adviser, discovered that the whole and sole charter and *corpus* of the greater part of the income was a certain prettily-bound quarto volume of subscriptions, lying on the counter of Mr. Smillikin's subscription library, fancy repository, and fashionable lounge, on the South Parade—a document of the greatest interest, as showing the vicar's acceptableness with his wandering and changeable congregation,

but of no great weight with a lawyer, accustomed to a firmer base of property than the floating breath of popular applause.

A malicious curiosity might derive some amusement by sifting into these advertisements and ascertaining the particular relations which the statements bear to the actual circumstances. We do not but the investigation would considerably enlarge one's idea of the euphemistic and paraphrastic powers of our language. A living is described with every accommodation that art and nature can devise: why then does the owner wish to change? No man ever yet parted with a living, any more than with a cow, or horse, without some reason or other. It may be something very odd of the way, something not to be anticipated, and so latent as to require actual proof, and that for some time, before it can be detected: but for all that, when detected, it may be a most serious drawback to the value of the purchase. A very knowing person went to a fair to purchase a cow, and found one which was the admiration of the market. She was quite a picture, all her points good, was perfectly quiet and gentle, no leaper, had a fine calf and was evidently a first-rate milker. He made her his own and brought her home in triumph. The next morning it was discovered that the extraordinary beast had an untoward trick of sucking itself quite dry with its own mouth, to the manifest injury both of the calf and the dairy.

Many a like mischance has befallen those who go into the market to buy or exchange a living. A newly married clergyman, happy and unsuspecting, sees one described, he inquires, goes down to inspect, and is done the honors of the parsonage, glebe, church and parish. Not a fault can be found; it might be said of the living as of the above-mentioned cow,

"plurima cervix,

Et crurum tenns a mento palearia pendent.

Tum longo nullus lateri modus: omnia magna."

He eagerly closes, pays the money, goes, and resides, either as curate, or, the living having been most opportunely though perhaps unexpectedly vacated, as incumbent. A fortnight discovers the bitter something which mars the paradise of sweet repose. The dry rot is in the house; or there is an unaccountable invincible evil smell; or the family at the farm house over the way are unmusical, and the young men spend the evening in practising the bass viol or the French horn; or the mansion house is on the point of being leased for a long term of years to a well known practitioner as a lunatic asylum; or Mr. Robert Owen has bought an estate in the parish; or the beautiful house and grounds about a mile off, which look so well from the parsonage, is occupied by a numerous and pious family with pious daughters and sons:

aw, who piously never go to church, and make a point every month at least of visiting every cottage and farm house within two miles, piously suggesting that going to church is not at all necessary to salvation, but rather the contrary.

When it is considered that there are few clergymen who do consider on the justest possible grounds that their own parish is for some reason most peculiarly and singularly situated, and is utterly unlike any other parish in the whole world, it must needs follow that it is impossible to gather what are its peculiarities from a hasty and superficial survey. In fact, if any one will be at the pains to reflect what it is that has caused him most actual annoyance, he will find it something that could not be previously reckoned upon. The dangers incident to one on the look out for an exchange are all the greater from his faculties being absorbed in the recollection of that particular class of evils from which he is wishing to escape. He is looking only to one side of the question. To resume the figure of horse dealing, he exchanges a slow beast that requires continual whipping, and gets a runaway; or he gets rid of a kicker, and encumbers himself with a broken minded jade. In like manner, the unhappy clergyman flies from a methodist meeting to a radical squire, from a large population to bad roads and no post, from a thin to a vulgar neighbourhood, from an uncivil to a poverty-stricken people, from twenty poor he payers with large families to one wealthy one with no religion, from chalk downs to a damp atmosphere, or from precarious he payers to no church rate payers. All these are common contingencies, which a very shrewd and circumspect person may perhaps be on his guard against; yet in point of fact the constituted circumstances of every parish are so very idiosyncratic that there are many things which cannot be guessed, and could hardly be confessed in an advertisement, even if the advertiser wished.

It is indeed an unfortunate circumstance for the benevolence and fairness of the clerical class, that they cannot get out of a scrape unless they can find a substitute and leave him in it. In most other professions people change from place to place without implicating others in their movements. A clergyman in an ill conditioned or uncomfortable parish, has fallen into a well, and as the simple renunciation of his living without any equivalent would probably be a ruin, like the fox in the fable, he cannot get out unless he finds some animal good natured and silly enough to take his place. In the last number of the Ecclesiastical Gazette there were twenty six advertisements respecting the sale, purchase, or exchange of livings. There cannot be supposed to be half the whole number in the market at that time, as one can scarcely

glance one's eyes over any London paper without lighting upon the words "Next Presentation," or "Perpetual Advowse." The number of curates and curacies wanted, titles for orders offered or applied for, clergymen wishing to exchange a country for a London duty during May and June, or a northern or midland duty for or with a good house on the southern coast, these are without number; but just now we are only speaking of the simoniacal character which so much buying and selling of livings must give to the church in the eyes of uninitiated people, a character which it does by no means deserve. It is true that if people will only consider, out of ten thousand livings it may not be much for forty or fifty to be on sale at a time; still they *look* much, and we could wish that in this day, when every body has a great deal of superficial knowledge and will not go below the surface, even this appearance of evil could be avoided.

It is not often, indeed, that any thing very scandalous or very disgraceful is now to be seen either in the advertising or other columns of newspapers. There is a certain average of public taste from which few departures are now to be met with, though the average may not be a very high one; taste, like learning, is apt to become more shallow the more widely it is diffused. When anything very shocking is to be seen, we really think there can be no unfairness in hunting out the facts of the case, by some means or other, to ascertain whether it is a *bonâ fide* advertisement, or some invention of the enemy. Even if the advertiser be discovered to be a true man, still as *he* is despising the rules and principles of the Church, trifling with her good name, as he is working folly in Israel, and causing the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, there can be no impropriety in drawing him to light, and punishing openly what he has tried to do, and perhaps succeeded in doing, secretly.

We cannot believe but that the advertisement we are about to quote comes under the former of these heads. It is too bad, too highly finished to be real. It must be either a wanton or a malicious hoax. We give it second-hand from a dissenting periodical, where it forms the text of a suitable discourse, of which it will be sufficient to give the first sentence, and the rest may be guessed.

"CLERICAL ADVERTISEMENTS.

"(From the Times Newspaper, July 5, 1839.)

"TO THE CLERGY.—An incumbent would resign directly, at his patron's consent, to one not under 46 years of age, a beautiful living, a perfect gem, one of the prettiest things in England, with excellent free-stone front house, in good repair—facing a park, in the county of Somerset, at the skirts of a small market town, with every necessa-

life cheap; productive garden, lawn, pleasure-ground, wall-fruit; six acres of pasture adjoining, coach-house, stabling for six horses, out-houses,—no trouble as to income, *duty easy*, spot healthy, roads and society good; the whole worth 280*l.* a-year. Terms: in-coming incumbent to pay down 1900*l.*, to indemnify present incumbent's outlay on the spot, and for his fixtures, and his old wine, worth 180*l.*; also, for live-stock, including three cows, horses, and pony-carriage,—piano-forte, by Stoddart, cost 85 guineas; hand-organ, by Flight, cost 38*l.*; plate and linen; and a few pictures.

“A second living, one mile off, worth 48*l.* a-year, without trouble or uncertainty, *duty single and immediate*, no weekly, may be had also at option. There is a large family pew in the church, handsomely fitted up, and with a stove. Both incomes are capable of and likely to receive increase.’ &c.

“This advertisement contains the instruction of many volumes. The picture of luxury and repose which the pastor-merchant has drawn up of his own pastoral life is complete: he had evidently been a man of taste and pleasure, and had omitted nothing which could enable him voluptuously to enjoy the days that had been given him under the sun. We can well imagine the charms of this religious hermitage, for such places we have seen, and can testify that this description does not exaggerate the attractions of certain residences, where certain clergymen, with an ‘easy duty,’ and an abundant income, are said by their admirers to spread an atmosphere of civilization and gentility around them, in districts, which, but for their presence, would lapse into barbarian horrors.”
—*The Inquirer*, August, 1839.

We have never ourselves seen anything so bad as this. Such broad dishonesty and richness of colouring are not to be met with every day; and we do pretend there is anything approaching to it in the *Gazette*. In the twenty-six advertisements, however, of the last number, besides the frequent mention of “early possession,”—in one case, “*very early possession is indispensable.*” In another,—

A Beneficed CLERGYMAN would be glad to EXCHANGE an important and extensive sphere of labour for one of less responsibility. Value 10*l.* per annum, with an excellent house. A difference in the relative values of the livings would be no bar to negotiation, provided there is a good house, in a healthy situation. Zeal and faithfulness, combined with some degree of pulpit talent, are dispensable requisites.”

In this advertisement, which also appears in the *Record*, March 8, it would be more satisfactory if it were distinctly implied that the exchange, if unequal, was not to be balanced with hard cash. In the previous number one gentleman “Wanted to purchase a living *with immediate possession*, a very good house and suitable accessories.” As his want could only be gratified

by a sudden death, or gross illegality, we need not say that we heartily wish his disappointment.

In the same number, Feb. 9, the two following, for different reasons, are worthy of remark. With regard to the first, when the legislature lately removed the old restrictions on church building, it surely did not contemplate thereby opening new channels for the profitable employment of capital.

"**DISTRICT CHURCH.**—Any Gentleman disposed to advance a sum not exceeding 4000*l.* in aid of the expenses of building, may secure good interest for his money, and the appointment as minister, with an income of about 300*l.* per annum. The situation is extremely desirable."

"**EXCHANGE.**—The Incumbent of a living in the north of England of the value of about 800*l.* a year and a good residence, is desirous of EXCHANGING for a somewhat similar living in the south or western part of England: or *under certain conditions, in themselves legal*, he would not object to a suitable living of about 400*l.* per annum."

Are we to understand from the following advertisement in the *Record*, Feb. 22, that the living has no proper residence, and that the patron or the incumbent may make the "freehold house on lawn near the church" a parsonage or a mansion, whichever suits his convenience? It must, by the way, be highly gratifying to the readers of the *Record* to find by the number of such advertisements in that paper, the ground its doctrines are gaining in the circles of wealth and luxury.

"ADVOWSON IN SOMERSETSHIRE,

With excellent Freehold House, Lawn and Paddock, containing about fifteen acres
FOR SALE by PRIVATE CONTRACT, the ADVOWSON of RECTORY in Somersetshire, with a prospect of early possession. The annual value of the living is 200*l.*, the population 300, and the situation is a rural village in genteel neighbourhood, within a moderate distance of turnpike and railroads. The freehold house is situate in a lawn near the church, and consists of dining, drawing and breakfast rooms, servants' hall, kitchens, and laundry, and excellent bed-rooms, in most complete repair, and there are good stables and coach-house attached."

The following also are from the same paper some time back. The second of them suggests two very good heads of classification which would reach nearly every case; viz. those who want work and those who are tired of it; or, in other words, the population of the neighbourhood, and the southern-coast, gentleman.

"**TO** be SOLD, with immediate possession, an ADVOWSON and a NEXT PRESENTATION, with a new and superior house, beautifully situated in the neighbourhood of Exeter.—WANTED, a NEXT PRESENTATION, with house, with immediate possession."

"**THE INCUMBENT** of a Country Parish, precluded from exchanging his Living, will give the Curacy of it in EXCHANGE for any duty (however inferior in emolument) in London, or any very populous neighbourhood."

One remarkable feature of these advertisements, and in the mere fact of there being so many together, is the happy indifference to public opinion they display. There is a good deal of this in our days. Perhaps there has been every other day, only we may be excused for observing chiefly what we see, and thinking there is rather too much of it. It may be traced in many things. People of one class care not how or what they look to other classes; and they who happen to be in any particular school, or world, or rank, or coterie, care not what aspect they present to the world at large. Take an illustration from dress: your finest drawing room gentlemen care not what they look to the vulgar, and disguise themselves in shaggy great coats, pea jackets, Mackintoshes, and all sorts of rough apparel. Again, people who are usually most courteous and forbearing to their friends and dependents, will sometimes exhibit the extremest selfishness or rudeness, or dishonesty, to fellow travellers and others whom they may chance to come across in the hurry of business. It is well known that the good name of England for generosity, for delicacy of feeling, and for religious reverence, is sadly hurt abroad, by the conduct of our travelling countrymen,—conduct which they would never think of at home. The reason of all this we are not here investigating; but as a fact, people are apt to be indifferent to appearances, when they are not individually and personally known: they care not how they look as members of a class, or how the whole class must look as represented by them.

Now does not our Church, especially its clergy, present something of this rough, rude, selfish and uninviting appearance, in the columns we refer to? Who, that saw only that aspect of it, could guess or believe the vast immeasurable amount of high feeling and noble disinterestedness, there actually is in the body?

Let us just try to view the question externally; let us put ourselves in imagination out of the Church, and see ourselves as others see us; what should we think of the practice? This is the only fair way, if indeed it be possible. Beyond a doubt, if familiarity had not blunted our sense, we should judge very harshly of the Church and the clerical spirit in consequence; most unfairly perhaps; still we should. What if we were to see in the dissenting and Roman Catholic periodicals but a tithe of the advertisements of this class which we see in ours, and with no more than their average amount of secularity? If, for example, we merely saw that the minister of a Particular Baptist Church wished to engage himself where the roads were better, or a Roman Catholic priest wanted a chapel within three hours of London, or a Wesleyan preacher was looking out for a congregation on the southern

coast, and all this with a quantity of garnish in the shape of detail of gardens, horses, cows, and good masters for the children, we should forthwith conceive a somewhat lower degree of dread, and perhaps a lower degree of respect also for our comfortable antagonists. We should feel ourselves all the easier, and draw our breaths all the freer for seeing them a little more encumbered with the fatness and warmth of worldly circumstance.—

“ Let me have men about me that are fat ;
Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o’ nights :
Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look ;
He thinks too much : such men are dangerous.”

Nay, when something every now and then lets out that Romish priests and dissenting preachers betray the secret influence of considerations which in the Church of England are confessed and paraded before the whole world : if one of these people publishes an autobiography or a confession, or tells tales of his brethren, we instantly lay hold of it, as something inconsistent and laughable, we contrast it with their high professions, though it cannot be really supposed that any set of men in the world are under higher obligation than an ordained minister of our Church.

To the more secret and authoritative methods, in which appointments and changes are made by the bodies we refer to, that is, to the powers reserved for their bishops, their conferences, and the committees, must be ascribed much of their power, their uniformity of operations, and their keeping up of appearances as well as the rest. In the abstract, of course, it were to be wished that all our own ecclesiastical changes could be referred to authorized and responsible heads or centres. We say in the abstract, knowing that in the present condition of the Church, the wish is impossible, and that the influence of private individuals, and even of private wealth, is almost necessary, as affording some degree of counterpoise against the tyranny of the state.

Medicines are poisons to the healthy body, and on the other hand, modern science seems to prove that there is no poison however quick and virulent, but what may in some cases be administered in a healing shape and measure. Is not our Church that predicament that she must be cured by poisons ? Things themselves abstractedly contrary to the very constitution and life of the church, may in some degree be expedient. What more contrary, what more life-killing, to a healthy Church, such as we might conceive at Jerusalem or Thessalonica, than that private persons in a subordinate rank of the ministry, or not in the ministry at all, should be set up as public patrons, mediators, and referees,—should be surrounded by a throng of church clien-

and dependents,—and have their lists of names and offices? Have we not also seen the thing in so gross a form, and so much abused as itself, as to illustrate and, so to speak, even to satirize the unapostolical and unevangelical character of the practice? Yet any kind of authority or order seems better than none at all, and one would rather see curates, and even incumbents selected from the memorandum book of some popular Diothrephes, recommended by him as “the first on his list,” than that all should come together into the market to shift for themselves as they can, bargaining in the sight of the world.

There is one fatal objection to the practice of advertising for clerical employment, viz. the necessity of saying something in the way of self-recommendation. The advertiser must either express or imply something in his own favour. If he says nothing, still his very silence must be interpreted to mean that he does not doubt his own fitness for the employment he is seeking, and deems it superfluous to particularize his merits and capabilities. If he does venture to specify his good points, he falls at once into the most disagreeable kind of egotism. Nor is the difficulty less where the applicant answers an advertisement stipulating for every religious, moral and physical perfection, as some advertisements do. By simply answering, he owns to the whole catalogue of excellences.

Many attempt to get out of the difficulty by procuring others to vouch for their good qualities. The applicant does not advertise, but is advertised by a friend, or somebody of well-known piety, who, it is to be hoped, pays for the advertisement, otherwise he is doing no more for the applicant than what the clerks in the *Times* office do for the thousands of illiterate cooks and housemaids that present themselves at the counter, and not being able to state their own case briefly and forcibly are obliged to have it done for them.

Now, without pretending any extraordinary degree of modesty, we confess that we cannot by any effort of imagination put ourselves into the mood and position of a person declaring himself, or deliberately authorizing his friend to declare him, a person of decided piety, a thorough Christian, a devoted servant of Christ, a faithful and zealous minister, and so forth. Nor can we enter into the mind of him, who, after reading a list of such requirements, comes forward and says, “You need go no further, I’m the very man you want.”

A less obnoxious form of self-description is to refer to some existing school of religion, and use some one of its technicalities as simply as possible, just to denote one’s opinions and leave one’s virtues to be inferred. This is modest, though it sometimes

gives a very methodical business-like air to theological terms. Some advertisers profess their agreement with the sentiments of the periodical. This, however, is justly considered rather *infrigid* for a clergyman, especially as some of these periodicals change their sentiments every now and then; not very decidedly perhaps but still enough to prevent them from being the emblems of constancy. Public opinion is now running very strong against an entire agreement either with another or with oneself. Various modified forms of acquiescence, therefore, are now in vogue.

One gentleman introduced himself to the public the other day as having a strong voice, and a strong attachment to the Prayer Book, Articles, and Homilies. Of course it is reasonable that a person who asks for a large church, should state his physical capacity to fill it. Yet there is in language a certain juxtaposition of terms, which seems to denote that neither or none of them are fully understood and entered into. Gibbon, of set and malicious purpose, diverted himself with stripping abstract ideas of their grave and intellectual character, by coupling them with things common and palpable. What he did wickedly, many people do weakly. As a mere matter of literary composition, soundness of lungs is a ruinous preface to soundness of doctrine. But further what sort of attachment can that be which embraces with one and the same strength and glow of affection the Prayer Book, Articles and Homilies? Mr. Wilberforce talks somewhere of the chilling sobriety of tone characterizing a committee of the Prayer Book and Homily Society: and it must be confessed we cannot be surprised at his enthusiastic temper detecting unawares a sort of *concordia discors* in the combination. But the third ingredient really seems to put the result beyond the range of human categories. What *one* thing can be said, or thought, or felt equally of all three together? However, the gentleman of strong lungs, who wished for a large London church, is, it appears, tenderly attached to the whole trio. "How happy could I be with either," he says rather, "How happy am I with all three of you together."

One of the crowd of gentlemen who wish for large churches in town, the ensuing May and June, says that his "qualification cannot be denied." So positive an assertion, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we are bound to admit. Yet we confess a little curiosity to see this undeniable paragon of excellence.

The four following advertisements are taken in a lump from the Record. Comment may spoil them; but we cannot help noticing the two different though reconcilable aspects of the system presented by the "no occasional duty" in the second, and the rigorous stipulations as to daily visiting in the last. We doubt not that the

ingenuity of the reader will be set to work on that very curious question suggested in the second, viz. "*part of the profits of a cow.*" Our space will not allow us to put on paper the numerous theories of partition that have occurred to us; besides that as rectors and curates will probably embrace very different views of the subject, we will not run the risk of offending either party:

A CLERGYMAN, of Gospel Principles, WANTS a CHAPEL or CURACY, of moderate size, near the south or south-west coast.

WANTED, about the middle of August, for six weeks or two months, at a Church within fourteen miles of London, the SERVICES of a zealous CLERGYMAN, who preaches the Gospel fully and freely. The duty consists only of two services on the Sabbath, there being no occasional duty. The occupation of two sitting-rooms, two lodging-rooms, and an excellent garden, with the use of servants and part of the profits of a cow, is offered as an equivalent for his services. Respectable references will be required.

WANTED a CLERGYMAN of decided Piety and Ability, to assist in the duties of an Episcopal Chapel in the West End of London. None need apply who cannot furnish Testimonials for Soundness of Doctrinal Views and holiness of conversation. The congregation attending the chapel consists chiefly of the Upper Classes of Society, amongst whom there are many devoted servants of God. No ministrations will be acceptable but those in which "Christ is preached" in all the fulness and freeness of his salvation.

WANTED a CURATE for two Churches in the North Riding of Yorkshire, eleven miles from York, and three miles from each other. The applicant must be a Graduate of one of the three Universities, Oxford, Cambridge, or Dublin; and he must be a married man. None but a faithful and zealous minister of Christ (who will not only feed his flock on the Lord's Day, but also visit daily among the parishioners), need apply. He must also be in full orders."

Casting our eyes over some recent numbers of the journal we find:—

A Young person, of firm religious principles, and excellent disposition, wishes &c."

"SCRIPTURE-READER, &c.

A Person, thirty-seven years of age, of known and decided piety, accustomed to speak to the poor, to attend prayer-meetings, &c., would be glad of an ENGAGEMENT, either as SCRIPTURE-READER, or as Schoolmaster, or otherwise to be useful in spreading a knowledge of the Redeemer's kingdom. Having a wife and family, a salary of 65*l.* or 70*l.* is necessary. The most respectable references."

A CLERGYMAN, who will have to remain in Town for a few weeks, would like to be ENGAGED during that time in London or its neighbourhood. He possesses a powerful voice, and an impressive manner."

A CLERGYMAN of Ireland, by birth and education, but who wishes for a ministerial engagement in England on account of his wife's health, seeks a CURACY. The Clergyman who inserts for him this advertisement can conscientiously recommend him as an able minister of Christ, and as one who, he doubts not, would prove a treasure to any gentleman with whom he might become associated. A very low stipend would be an objection."

Here is a treasure to any gentleman, to be got by merely asking and paying him a moderate stipend. Our readers will be so glad to hear that a short cut has just been discovered to Theological learning, that they will excuse the insertion of the next, though not strictly in place here.

“PREPARATION FOR HOLY ORDERS.

AN unmarried CLERGYMAN, of Evangelical principles, in care of a small parish, having discovered a system, which he trusts will considerably diminish both the time and labour usually spent in studying for orders, wishes to take into his house (where every comfort would be afforded) a few CANDIDATES for HOLY ORDERS.”

Before we leave this part of our subject, we will venture a few remarks by the way on the traffic itself we have above referred to in speaking of jobbing advertisements; especially as we fear there is some prospect of matters being worse than they now are before long. The over-weening predominance of land and money over Church and people in the English part of our legislature on the one hand; and, on the other, the fashionable notion of spreading religious opinions by power and money instead of fair argument, conspire to make us apprehend an increased desecration of church property, and perversion of the rights of patronage.

There is a very general wish in some quarters to remove all the obstacles in the way of a free trade in ecclesiastical property which the dealers complain is in its present state needlessly clogged with conscientious restrictions. It is alleged that the outlay of money in consideration of certain revenues attached to spiritual offices, is not the same thing as the purchase of spiritual power and authority, which alone can rightfully be called simony: and after the usual fashion of such objectors, it is further alleged that there is more speculation, more reckoning on mortal casualties, more running life against life, and more room for dishonesty, in the traffic of livings, with lives upon them, than if the commodities were brought into market in a more saleable state, without the incumbrance of a live incumbent, and ready to be entered upon to-morrow. It is possible there may be some truth in this, yet perhaps it is just this particular hindrance, this little difficulty rendering traffic in livings hazardous and speculative instead of a certainty like the sale of houses and land,—perhaps it is just this, which confines the traffic to a very low rate of people. There are many instances in which those arbitrary restrictions which put additional offences in the way of one's conscience, and so increase the guilt of such as persist in doing the thing forbidden or hindered, have the good effect of confining the practice to few

persons. We think it is so in the present instance. There is not *in fact* much buying and selling of livings: but if livings could be sold when vacant without perjury or evasion, many livings would be sold which are now given, many persons whose hands are now clear of this traffic would be involved in it, and the whole Church would be profaned with merchandize.

Abstractedly there may seem nothing wrong or corrupt or mercenary in a curate with 80*l.* and a private fortune equivalent to a life annuity of 420*l.*, resigning his curacy, and parting with his money for a living of 500*l.* so that his income continues the same. Yet there are very good reasons why the law should *make* the process wrong. Every possible obstacle should be thrown in the way of preferment becoming a mere mercantile transaction.

The minor but still very palpable degree of desecration which ecclesiastical property has suffered, doubtless ever since it was first set apart to the Church, the ministers and the poor of Christ, by being promised and disposed of for pecuniary or other unworthy motives, did doubtless help it onwards to the further desecration of being entirely alienated and secularized. Let clergy do what they will men can never hold that sacred which they see bought and sold. This the Church always knew, but since she always was, as she ever will be, in difficulties, she could only declare her mind, "the mind of Christ," on the subject, and leave it to struggle with the carnal mind of man. The canons of the Church Catholic, (though it is not pretended they were fully enforced) forbid the sale and even the promise of next presentations during the life time of the incumbent, for the express reason that thereby men were tempted to wish for the death of others. Many other like prohibitions were once the law of the Church, guiding and demanding the obedience of the faithful few, though despised and evaded by the world at large.

In spite of the materialism of the day, which sneers at the thought of a sacred purpose communicating sanctity to lands and buildings and other inanimate things, the Church does still maintain that all her property is sacred, and not to be rashly handled even with the most benevolent intentions. She holds out this warning to the world, and to the legislator: yet it is much to be feared that her own sons are day by day blunting the edge of this threat by their worldly traffic in sacred things. Even where the motives are the best, still the act itself may be intrinsically wrong, and in the long run may be convicted by its consequences. The appropriation of tithes and acquisition of benefices by the religious houses before the Reformation, was doubtless at the time a remedy for great

evils, and most piously intended. But the results were bad and made worse still by the Reformation. Very many would be disposed to think that the practice of colleges purchasing valuable livings for the fellows to retire upon, has long ere this been convicted by its consequences. At least we have heard a thousand allegations of injurious effects both to colleges and parishes. Yet even if it were admitted that no such great harm had followed obviously and directly, it must still be remembered that wide prevailing practices, and the policy of great institutions, such as collegiate or other societies, are not tried and convicted in a day. They go on for centuries, and centuries are required to pronounce them wrong or ill judged: but when time does at last pronounce its judgment upon them, that judgment is commonly one of deep moment, and of long duration. The principle which colleges have thus sanctioned, as also the tone of thought and feeling with regard to livings which they have encouraged and allowed to prevail in the most sacred retirements and nurseries of religion and learning, may be a much greater evil, and even more fairly attributable to the practice in question than the fact of parishes being occasionally ill provided for. Such occasional evils, great and lamentable as they are, are in a manner accidental, may and do happen perhaps more under other kinds of patronage, and only extend to a limited space of time. But the *principle* of traffic in livings, and accumulating patronage, must spread all the further from being in this instance so highly and respectably sanctioned.

Though general practices, supported by public opinion and the principles of great societies, are not, in the order of Providence, things to be tested and judged in a day, yet, in the case of individuals, judgment on those very same principles may be expected to be done more speedily. And we believe that there are many persons who, having bought livings to give to "good men," have lived to rue bitterly their having, out of rule and order, put forth the arm of money to stay the falling ark of God. There is a story told of one excellent gentleman, who lived to see his error in this respect. Several of his nominees turned out very contrary to his wishes—very bad indeed we believe;—a circumstance not to be wondered at; for, besides that people who make a peculiar profession always should be, and indeed generally are, regarded with peculiar suspicion, it moreover does not answer, as a general rule, to elevate men from poverty and obscurity to wealth, rank and power. When the process had been repeated several times, the would-be patron came at last to the conclusion that there was a sort of fatality about his appointments; and on a living falling vacant, was positively afraid to give it to a particular friend, lest

om being a very good man, as he seemed at the time, he should turn out just what he should not be. He therefore applied to is Bishop to fill up the vacancy. The Bishop let the living lapse, so that it became fairly and fully his own patronage, and then with great delicacy put into it the aforesaid friend of the gentleman in question, who, it is pleasant to add, did justice to the voice and appointment.

From clerical advertisements, we will pass rather abruptly to the religious announcements and reports in newspapers;—a very fertile and interesting topic, though we have left ourselves no room for the ample treatment it deserves. One great difference between the two branches of our subject is, that whereas the church is the only body which conducts its ministerial arrangements through the public press, it by no means enjoys a monopoly of the advertisements and announcements relating to the congregational part of the matter, that is, to religious celebrations and festivals. There all the denominations press and jostle one another; and unhappy editors are obliged to chequer or rather tessellate the broad sheet with a mosaic work of orthodoxy and heresy, establishmentism and voluntarism, superstition and irreverence, taking the utmost care not to give any one an advantage over the rest in the greater conspicuousness of position, or priority of order. Nay, we are not sure that any of the parties could wish for a distinct position. They come to the fair, and set up their stages in the very thick of the throng, and are well aware they cannot enjoy an undisputed ground, unless they leave the market-place and retire to some very unprofitable solitude. They are therefore fully content to be seen and heard altogether proclaiming their wares, or the wonderful sights, with every possible pomp and ingenuity of description. Nay, more; it would not be sufficient merely to enjoy the same chance of being seen and heard as the rest: there is also a certain style and tone of attractiveness which must be adopted. There is a language which, and which only, the public will consent to hear. If people are too fastidious to adopt it, they must hold their tongues. We find, therefore, as great a similarity of tone in these advertisements, and even in most of the announcements, as if they were all drawn up by some one common interpreter of the public will; some pundit learned in the art of a catching phraseology—a sort of theological George Robins. The following masses of podge-podge will serve to illustrate our meaning. The purposes of veracity will be best answered by giving them without any curtilment, much of their grotesqueness depending on the order of collocation.

The first is from the Manchester Guardian, Nov. 28th, 1840:

"ST. LUKE'S CHURCH, CHORLTON-ON-MEDLOCK.—TWO SERMONS will be preached in the above Church, To-morrow, November 29th, in the Morning, by the Rev. J. W. RICHARDS, M.A., High Master of the Free Grammar School, Manchester; in the Evening, by the Rev. R. FROST, M.A., Minister of St. Stephen's, Salford; when Collections will be made in aid of the Sunday School attached to the Church. Morning service at Half-past Ten, Evening service at Half-past Six.

CORN EXCHANGE LECTURES.—The FIRST ANNIVERSARY of the OPENING of the CORN EXCHANGE for Divine Worship, on a Morning and Evening of the Lord's Day, will be held (D.V.) To-morrow, November 29th, when TWO SERMONS will be preached by the Rev. J. EUSTACE GILBERT, of Leeds, Author of "Lectures on Socialism," &c. Morning service to commence at Half-past Ten o'clock, Evening service at Half-past Six o'clock. A Collection will be made after each Service to assist in defraying the expenses incurred in keeping open the above place during the past year.

CORN EXCHANGE SABBATH AFTERNOON LECTURE.—To-morrow Afternoon the LECTURE will be delivered in the above place at Three o'clock, by the Rev. JOHN BIRT. No collection.

LECTURES at the NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH, PETEY STREET, Manchester, by the Rev. J. H. SMITHSON. To-morrow (Sunday, November 29th, 1840, on the Supreme Divinity of Jesus Christ, proving that he is the only one God, in whom is the Divine Trinity; Objections against his Divinity answered and refuted. Service to commence at Half-past Six.

N.B. Tracts will be distributed after the Lecture.

UPPER BROOK STREET CHAPEL.—A COURSE of LECTURES on the DOCTRINAL SYSTEM of the APOSTLE PAUL will be delivered in this Chapel, by the Rev. J. J. TAYLER, B.A., on the Evenings of the last Sunday in the following Months. Service to commence at Half-past Six o'clock.

November 29th.—On the Importance of the Life and Writings of the Apostle Paul, and on the difficulty of rightly appreciating them.

December 27th and January 31st.—The Doctrines of Paul, deduced from a comparison of his several Writings respecting God, Man, Christ, and the Future Life.

February 28th.—On the Present Significance and Practical Application of the Doctrines.

THE OPENING of the METHODIST NEW CONNECTION CHAPEL, DUKINFIELD.—BETHESDA CHAPEL will be opened for Divine Worship on Sabbath the 6th December, 1840. The Rev. W. COOKE, of Belford, Superintendent of the Irish Mission, will preach in the Morning, at Half-past Ten o'clock, the Rev. T. ALLEN, of Altrincham, at Two o'clock, and the Rev. W. COOKE, at Six o'clock in the Evening.

Also on Wednesday Evening, the 7th December, at Half-past Seven o'clock, the Rev. S. LUKE, from Chester, will preach.

On the following Sabbath, December 13th, the Rev. JOSEPH BARKER, of Gateshead, will preach in the Morning at Half-past Ten o'clock, and in the Evening at Six. In the Afternoon of the same day a Love Feast will be held, to commence at Two o'clock.

Collections will be made at the close of each service towards liquidating the debt incurred in the erection of the said chapel.

On Monday Evening, the 7th instant, there will be a Public Tea Party at the School Room.

STALYBRIDGE ORATORIO.—On the Evening of Christmas-day next, 25th December, HANDEL'S sublime Oratorio of the Messiah, with Mozart's additional Accompaniments, will be performed on a grand scale, in St. George's New Church, Stalybridge; on which occasion talent of the first order will be engaged, particulars whereof, together with the names of distinguished patrons, will be announced in future advertisements."

Then follow "Gentlemen's Concert," Radical Lectures on the Condition Resources and Claims of British India, Public Dinner to Sir John Potter, Knight, Commemoration of Three Lyceums, Mechanics' Institute, &c.

The next piece is from the *Manchester Courier*, Jan. 23, 1841. Justice to the various distinguished performers announced in the second advertisement, requires that if any are to be mentioned, none should be omitted; we therefore give the whole.

WESLEYAN SUNDAY SCHOOL SERMONS.—On Sunday, January 31st, Two SERMONS will be preached in the Irwell Street Wesleyan Chapel, Salford, by the Rev. Dr. BEAUMONT, of Liverpool, for the benefit of the Wesleyan Sunday Schools in Salford. Divine Service, in the morning at half-past ten, and in the evening at six. Silver will be received at the doors in the evening, except to the free seats.

CATHOLIC FEMALE ORPHAN HOUSE for MANCHESTER and SALFORD. TO-MORROW the 24th January, TWO SERMONS will be preached at ST. AUGUSTINE'S CHAPEL, Granby Row, and COLLECTIONS made in aid of the Funds of the above Institution. GRAND HIGH MASS will be solemnized. Hadyn's splendid Mass No. 3, will be sung, accompanied by a full Orchestral BAND.

VOCALISTS.

Sopranos.—Miss Leach, Mrs. Sharpley, Miss Hadfield, Miss Ashbrook, Miss Miller, Miss Gibson.

Altos.—Mr. Standage, Mr. P. Malone, Mr. Stott, Mr. Butterworth, Mr. Walker.

Tenors.—Mr. Walton, Mr. G. Horncastle, Mr. T. Malone, Mr. Cutts, Mr. Gavin, Mr. Culley.

Basses.—Mr. Povah, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Lancaster, Mr. Oldham, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Sutcliffe.

INSTRUMENTAL PERFORMERS.

Violins.—Mr. Gregory, Mr. Warriner, Mr. Hordern, Mr. D. Smith, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Bradbury.

Tenors.—Mr. Miller, Mr. Preston, Mr. Dyson.

Violoncellos.—Mr. Thorley, Mr. Litzer.

Contra Bass.—Mr. Gledhill.

Flutes.—Mr. J. Nolan, Mr. J. A. Smith.

Oboes.—Mr. Johnson, Mr. Smith.

Bassoon.—M. J. Heany.

Serpent.—Mr. Clarke.

Trumpets.—Mr. J. McLusky, Mr. T. Kelly, M. J. McIlray.

Mr. BEAN, the celebrated Trombone player, from the London Concerts, has kindly promised his gratuitous assistance for the benefit of the charity.

Drums.—Mr. E. Donnelly.

Leader.—Mr. Seymour.

Mr. Bardsley will preside at the Organ.

The Sermon in the morning will be preached by the Rev. NORBERT WOOLFREY, of Mount St. Bernard; the Sermon in the evening by the Right Rev. Dr.

WISEMAN, Bishop of Melipotamus, &c., late Professor of Oriental Literature the University of Rome.—The service in the morning will commence at eleven o'clock and in the evening at half-past six o'clock.—Silver will be expected at the doors."

The following quarter of a column from the Newcastle Journal, October 3rd. 1840, cannot easily be surpassed either in the appropriate wording of each paragraph, or the judicious arrangement of the whole. We think it important not to interfere with that rough and natural shape in which all genuine specimens are best seen.

"After sermons in West Boldon church and East Bolton chapel, on Sunday last, by the Rev. Thomas Dalton, B. A., curate of Boldon, the sum of 4*l.* was collected in aid of the funds of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

"The Rev. R. H. Williamson, the rector, with great liberality to his parishioners, has enlarged and improved the churchyard at Hurworth. The interesting and impressive ceremony of consecration of the portion thus added took place on Thursday morning, after which the Bishop of Durham, a number of clergy, and others, partook of lunch at the rectory.

"The Hartlepool Dock Company have subscribed 10*l.* towards the establishment of Mr. Carte's rockets at that place. The life belts, which he exhibited at Seaton, are coming into great request. The above named company and the shipping interest at Middlesborough have procured them. Their efficiency in saving men from drowning has been fully proved, therefore no ships should sail unprovided with these safety buoys.

"The members of the Loyal Vulcan Lodge of Odd Fellows, Winkleson, accompanied by a number of their brother members of the surrounding district, walked in procession to church, on Sunday last, where the Rev. Henry Wardell, rector, preached an impressive and very appropriate sermon on the occasion, after which a collection amounting 3*l.* 11*s.* was received for the widows and orphans of the village.

"A soir  e, in connection with the Close Chapel congregation, took place in the Turk's Head Long Room, on Tuesday evening last. After tea, which was kindly supplied by the ladies of the congregation, the company, consisting of about 500, was addressed by the following gentlemen, viz :—The Rev. D. C. Browning, pastor of the congregation, Rev. Mr. Trevella, Zion Chapel, Rev. Mr. Boyd, Hexam, Rev. M. Campbell, St. James's, Rev. Mr. Browning, Felling, Rev. Dr. Ada Thompson, Coldstream, and Mr. Wm. Hay, a native of Africa. During the evening, a variety of pieces of sacred music were performed by the band. The meeting broke up about ten o'clock, highly gratified with the proceedings.

"A public tea party was held at the opening of the Bede parochial school at Jarrow, on Monday last, when about six hundred and thirty persons partook of a bounteous feast, including the Sunday school children, who amount to one hundred and fifty; these last were regaled

hemselves gratuitously. At the close of the meeting appropriate addresses were delivered by the Rev. Hugh Nanney, chairman, the Rev. Thos. Dixon, the Rev. T. R. Dickenson, Messrs, Carr, Finlay, Sutherland, and Frewcock. A vote of thanks was given to the chairman for his efficient and able services, also to T. Drewett Brown, Esq., for the great interest which he has taken in the promotion of the school, together with the committee of gentlemen who gave their assistance to this great and good work.

"A missionary meeting was held in Sion Chapel, Alnwick, on Monday evening last, which was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Knill, a deputation from the London Missionary Society, and the Rev. John Tindall (Wesleyan)—Ridge (New Connexion), and other ministers. The speeches were excellent, but that of the Rev. J. Tindall was decidedly one of the most eloquent and spirit-stirring appeals in behalf of Christian missions that ever was made to the people of Alnwick. Mr. Tindall is evidently an extraordinary man; and the Wesleyans of Alnwick are very highly favoured in having him for their minister.—Collection, 10*l*."

Then follows the "Sporting Intelligence," possibly by the same hand.

A few bits more, and we have done. The first from the *Cheltenham Chronicle*, August 29, 1840.

"NEWENT.—The inhabitants of this little town, which has had the reputation of being dull, seem determined to go 'a-head' like their neighbours. Last week there was a musical festival and races, both of which seem to have gone off exceedingly well. The festival was held in the church, and the singing of Mr. Sapio, Miss Patton, of Bath, Mr. R. Spinney, and the members of the Gloucester choir, is highly spoken of. After the conclusion of the oratorio, the audience repaired to the race course, on which, it is said, 10,000 persons assembled. In the evening there was a concert and ball at the George inn, which were most numerous attended. The stewards of the musical festival, Col. Drummond and E. Barnard, Esq., deserve the highest praise for their kind exertions."

Our next specimen is a curious and instructive juxta position. In one page of advertisements of Mr. Moon's engravings we find the following, constituting a brief religious, political, and moral history of Scotland.

"John Knox, administering the sacrament in Calder House, for the first time after the Reformation." A picture by David Wilkie to match his picture, "The Preaching of Knox."

"The widowed Queen and Children of Charles I. contemplating his portrait."

"The Highland breakfast." (What sort of a meal that is every body knows.)

We conclude with the announcement of the last new scheme

in the religious world. When it is considered that since the very first preaching of the Gospel, not a single direct effort has ever been made for the salvation of the rich, all will acknowledge the necessity of the proposed undertaking. The gentleman mentioned above, who advertised a new discovery for making young men theologians without any time or trouble, with more prudence than generosity kept his specific to himself. But the English Monthly Tract Society makes no secret of its grand invention. The rich are to be saved by envelopes,—handsome embossed envelopes, perfumed, and containing essays and memoirs, in the most attractive form, so as to induce the elegant and refined to read them. This gilding of truth of course requires gold, and for that the society advertises. There is only one mistake we can discover in the scheme, which otherwise is perfect and sure to succeed. One little thing we feel pretty sure will spoil the whole, and that is the unfortunate name of the secretary, *Mr. Stabb*. Only think of a society addressed to the elegant and refined headed by *Mr. Stabb*. They really must enclose *Mr. Stabb* like Scripture truth, in an envelope, or some other attractive form. They must put this sword into a sheath, or the young ladies will faint at the sight of him. He will be almost as bad as Scripture truth itself.

“TRACTS FOR THE RICH.

THOSE who are moving in the Fashionable World are so surrounded by the Splendour and Enjoyments of Life, as to remove from their minds the importance of attending to God and their own souls.

The English Monthly Tract Society publishes Scripture Truth in Essays and Memoirs, in the most attractive form, so as to induce the elegant and refined to read them. These are enclosed in envelopes, and addressed to the Nobility and Gentry, and left at their residences every month.

Although the Society is of recent origin, the blessing which has followed its efforts is a matter of devout thanksgiving to the Author of all good.

The Committee have rather laboured at their work than sought pecuniary aid; they find themselves involved to the extent of 500*l.*; they therefore earnestly solicit the sympathetic Contributions of all Christians, who, realizing somewhat of the value of immortal souls, are disposed to join in this only direct effort which has ever been made for the Salvation of the rich.

Information concerning the operations of the Society will be most cheerfully afforded by *Mr. Stabb*, the Secretary, at No. 20, Red Lion Square, who will have much pleasure in waiting upon any lady or gentleman who may favour him with an appointment.”

ART.—VI. *A Selection from unpublished Papers of the Right Rev. William Warburton, D. D., late Lord Bishop of Gloucester.* By the Rev. Francis Kilvert, M. A., late of Worcester College, Oxford.

“IT is the Editor’s desire to offer to the public the theological part of these papers rather as *matters of literary curiosity than as sources of theological instruction*; and he begs that he may be considered as no way committed by any statements, whether of doctrine or discipline, which may be found in them.”

We consider that in this disclaimer, as well as in the general conduct of the selection before us, Mr. Kilvert has exercised a discretion highly creditable to his good sense and Catholic principles. It is just the point of view, in which the publication of Warburtonian fragments appears to us desirable. Over and above the amusement and miscellaneous knowledge, inseparable from better acquaintance with so vigorous and active a mind, pouring itself out, in general, so freely; they help to throw an instructive light on the state of the English Church, during the century in which he flourished. So far indeed, and indirectly, they may prove very valuable “sources of theological instruction.” They set in a clear point of view the results of the movement, which took place in this Church and State at the close of the preceding century; and may help us to settle the question, whether it should be called the “glorious,” or the “fatal,” or the “excusable” revolution; and whether it is well, in interpretation of formularies, and in settling other ecclesiastical questions, to go back no farther than to it; as some persons, both in England and in Ireland, still seem to flatter themselves.

Bishop Warburton was perhaps in many respects as favourable a specimen as could be selected of the philosophical and theological school of what some might be apt to call the Anglo-Hanoverian Church. (For Bishop Butler stands by himself, and Bishop Wilson was a relic of the seventeenth century.) But Warburton’s learning and genius, great as they were, had not exempted him from certain *idola theatri*, the prejudices of the school of Locke, which he seems commonly to assume as first principles both in politics and in divinity. Locke’s Essay is the very first book which he recommends to the student of theology, in his sketch of a course of clerical education. He calls him “the honour of this age, and the instructor of the future.” He misses no opportunity of intimating his adherence and allegiance to him. So that, original as his views are in many things, he was by no means an exception to the general caste and tenor of the philosophy of that age, in which the great question was always, *cui*

bono, and the presumption, previous to inquiry, was ever held to be in favour of liberty, and against self-denying faith. It may be that his retired, unacademical education laid him the more entirely open to the impressions of the popular system; if at least it be true that old notions linger awhile in the universities of England, and make their inmates slower to learn the lessons of the time. Bearing this in mind, and separating between the natural character and the result of the age, we shall find in this volume as in former specimens of this remarkable man's correspondence more and more reason to regret that so much instinctive goodness and generosity of heart should have been allowed in a manner to run wild, uncorrected by the only principles which could have chastened and cherished them to perfection.

Those who know Warburton chiefly by the severe unsparing blows which he was accustomed to deal out on those who affronted him in controversy, will be agreeably surprised at one set of letters especially, which Mr. Kilvert has here given to the public. Warburton had said, in the dedication of part of the *Divine Legation* to Lord Mansfield,*

"Those, whom their profession has dedicated to this service, experience has taught, that the talents requisite for pushing their fortune lie very remote from such as enable men to figure in a rational defence of religion. And it is very natural to think, that in general they will be chiefly disposed to cultivate those qualities on which they see the patrons lay the greatest weight."

He adds in the next paragraph, that he has been led to make the statement of which the above is the conclusion, "for the sake of doing justice to the English clergy; who in this instance, as many others, have been forced to bear the blame of their betters i. e. of the several administrations since 1688, whom he had just been charging with the grossest abuse of their patronage. No when this was published, in 1758, there was one of his readers the Rev. Joseph Jane, student and tutor of Christ Church;—man whom Warburton himself described as "many years very respectable for his piety, learning, and great sequestration of himself;"—who, admiring Warburton's abilities greatly, yet feeling disgust at the low standard which the passage seemed to avow, took courage to write Warburton a letter of remonstrance; which the following is a part:—

"Am I strangely mistaken, or had you that poverty of spirit to which the first beatitude is pronounced; had you at heart, Sir, that admonition of our Lord, 'How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another and seek not the honour which cometh from God only?' did you not

* Vol. ii. p. 268, 4to.

in sad truth, love and study 'the praise of men more than the praise of God,' when you gave way to all that train of thinking of which this is the close? 'Those whom their profession has dedicated to' (the cause of Christ, the Gospel of Salvation, the truth in the love of it, would I say) 'this service, experience has taught that the talents requisite for *pushing their fortune*' (whom are you speaking of, sir; the ministers of Christ, or the servants of sin?) 'lie very remote from what enables men to *figure*' (in Heaven, I am sure; yea, or, truly you say well) 'in a successful defence of Revelation.'

"Dear Sir! (I speak to a brother disciple and professor) where is the conversation of a Christian? Where can it be but in Heaven? Sure I am, that as a *believer*, our character, business, and delight, is to seek, and speak, and recommend the truth in love, and at once to aim at God's glory and our own."

There is a great deal more to the same purpose, bearing, as Warburton observes to Hurd, "the mark of great candour and goodness throughout;" but expressed with a confusion and almost incoherence of thought, which might have tempted a less generous mind to a severe and crushing reply. But it was far otherwise with Warburton. The letter, though it charged him with indevotion, said not a word against his theories, or the ability with which he supported them, but on the contrary was full of compliments on his "vast genius," "prodigious learning," "singularly ingenious, inimitable productions." Whether he would have borne it as well or no, had it contravened any of his favourite speculations, we, of course, can but conjecture. As it is, his answer, of which Bishop Hurd regretted the loss, but which Mr. Kilvert has now fortunately recovered and printed, is a pattern of calmness and gentleness under the circumstances.

"I received," he writes, "the favour of yours without date, and am much edified with that appearance of piety which animates all the parts of it, and am equally indebted for your Christian charity towards me; which (as an excellent person on the like occasion well observes,) *habet nimirum hoc, ut etiam cum scerit maxime, tamen genuinæ suæ dulcedinis gustum obtineat.*"—p. 168.

He proceeds to some remarks of detail, and states his case, and then concludes as follows:—

"I confess I was not a little surprised to hear myself accused of *loving and studying the praise of men more than the glory of God*, because I supposed that among the number of those who dedicated themselves to the ministry of the gospel by ordination, according to the rites of the Church of England, many of them would have, along with their views of serving the cause of religion, a view of serving themselves, and even in that cause would endeavour to *figure* in this world as well as in *Heaven*. The severity of your censure I would suppose may arise from a mistaken zeal. I was speaking of men as I found them; you was thinking of them as they should be found: I was describing the generality; you

was looking up to those few particulars whom you most admire. But I that general picture be as odious as you please, the drawer of it is not to be blamed, unless he has aggravated the features of it.

"I wish, as heartily as you do, that the *Lord's people*, meaning the ministers of Christ, were all *Prophets*, that is, less intent on their own business, and more on their Master's. But we must take men as we find them; though Christian charity requires that we should endeavour not to leave them so. Now, as such men there have been, as such there are, and such there will always be, what I aimed at was to persuade our governors, (whose principal concern it is, in imitation of Him who substitutes they are) to turn the perversity of men into that channel from whence glory to God might be deduced; which I conceive might be done by annexing the honours of the profession to the most eminent services performed to religion by its professors.

"But you have taken it for granted that I despise others, and especially men of your turn and character. Believe me, Sir, I am better employed. *Neminem contemno nisi meipsum*. Here I go on good ground. I know myself best. However, of all men, a sober Methodist I am least inclined to despise. If I cannot arrive at their heights, I do not malign their situation, nor would I willingly deery their spiritual endowment. I esteem Mr. John Wesley for his parts, I esteem Mr. George Whitfield for his honesty; but let me not have a captious hearer, who shall uncharitably conclude from hence that I think the one a knave and the other a blockhead. And yet more iniquitous conclusions have been drawn from my words on almost every occasion.

"Thus, Sir, whether the purpose of your letter was zeal to bear testimony to the truth; charity to advise me of my errors; or mere curiosity to know the bottom of my thoughts, I have endeavoured to satisfy you by applying myself to all these intentions; and have only now to add that I am," &c.

We please ourselves with thinking that this letter was more truly characteristic of this distinguished writer, than any of those injurious specimens of severity and sarcasm, which occur so frequently in his correspondence with Hurd. At any rate the soft answer was effectual in this case to turn away wrath. Mr. Jane, who evidently expected a reply in a very different tone, was quite overcome by the mildness and condescension of the great controversialist's expostulation; and being afterwards settled in his diocese, vicar of Iron-Acton, not very far from Bristol, continued always one of the most attached of his clergy.

It is pleasant, among other things, to trace in this letter the same kind of sympathy with a person whom he evidently considered poor in talent, as he shows for the poor in station, in his Sermon against "mocking the Poor."* Nowhere does he put himself out more earnestly, or dart here and there, more evidently from the heart, the pointed lightnings which distinguish his fervor

* Serm. iv. Vol. v. p. 53.

style. It may seem that as his weakness was love of intellectual command, so he never thought he could be kind enough to such as were not in circumstances to dispute his superiority, at least on his own ground. And it was the same with his partial attachment to his friends: he loved them, and pleaded for them, more earnestly and constantly than even for his most favourite theories. In the last sad scene of his life, when he could no longer speculate nor reason, his affectionate heart survived. The writer of these lines has been told, by one who was much with Bishop Warburton after the decay of his powers, that one day when Pope's character was being freely censured in his presence, at a time when he seemed incapable of noticing any thing, he waked up in a manner suddenly, exclaimed, "Who talks against Pope? he was the best of friends and the best of men:" and so relapsed into his state of insensibility. His correspondence, that with Hurd more especially, abounds in touches of the same kind. And his first well-known dispute with Bishop Lowth terminated at once on his discovering, that the Mr. Lowth whom he had sometimes before spoken of severely in his "Julian," was his antagonist's father. He waved all offence at once, and told Lowth that he honoured him for his filial piety.

Another little trait worth noticing, in this affair of Mr. Jane, is Warburton's playful way of mentioning it to Hurd. "It struck my fancy to try whether I could not soften and humanize a little this atrocious virtue; which I attempted to do in a very long answer . . . I have sent you a copy . . . that you may see and admire my proficiency in the art of conciliating the good will of those I would cajole; and laugh at my absurdity in choosing to exercise it upon this honest Christ-Church student, instead of ministers of state."* This ironical mode of sporting with his own good deeds and acts of self-control was perhaps no doubtful indication of the deep feeling which actuated him in them.

But we have not yet done with this short correspondence. It affords illustrations of the age and school in which Warburton's lot was cast, at least as unpleasant as those of his own character are favourable. It will have been observed, that he did not think it possible for any one but a Methodist to be scandalized at a view, which supposed the great body of the clergy mainly taken up with looking after their own preferment, and that he accordingly set down his correspondent as of course a follower of Whitfield or Wesley; a conjecture, for which there appears to have been no foundation; at least the subject of it says in his concluding letter, "For my character, as it relates to your suspicion, I am attached to no party of any kind, nor ever was. I have affection enough

* Letters to Hurd, p. 276.

to the Church of England to be a sincere member of it; and whatever surmise a single feature, viewed in this or that light may excite, I know myself too well to suppose it possible for any man of sense to take me for a bigot or enthusiast."—p. 176. What must be thought of the prevalence of undisguised clerical ambition at the time, when the barely being shocked at the admission of it brought on a man the suspicion of Methodism?

But indeed the biographical memoirs of that time, of whatever school in matters either of Church or State, painfully confirm the impression which this fact would make. The cases of Hoadly and of Newton are well known: the one varying his courtly epistles to ladies of rank with professions of disregard for a title that can be gained on "this dirty planet;" the other listening in a manner at St. James's back stairs, and too happy when some whisper reaches him of a dignity soon to be vacant, or of an encouraging word from a courtier. Warburton's own letters are tinged with the feeling, both for himself and for Hurd—it comes quite as a matter of course: and not to travel at present beyond our record, these newly published remains have also their full share of it; there is hardly one of his correspondents who does not make some direct appeal to the same ever-intruding infirmity. We may except indeed the letters between him and Bishop Sherlock, which form on many accounts perhaps the most interesting part of the work. But when we pass from him, and come to Bishop Hare of Chichester, we presently light upon such hints as the following:—

"You have not, Sir, only my thanks for what you have done, but my sincere wishes that what was intended for the service of the public may prove also to be for your own; to which my endeavours, in any proper way, shall not be wanting." (p. 95.) "I hope not only posterity, but the present age, will do justice to so much merit, and do assure you shall not be my fault if it do not. I only wish my power were equal to my inclination to serve you." (p. 117.)

Again, Lord Lyttelton writes to him,

"If there ever arises in this government any regard to science, genius and virtue, you will be called out of your retreat, and placed in the station your merit deserves."

Again, on his (Mr. Lyttelton's) coming into office on the downfall of the Walpole government:

"Give me leave to assure you that nothing could give me more satisfaction than if any change of my fortune could put it more in my power to show you with how much esteem and consideration I am &c."

Hints of this kind, how friendly soever in intention are but a cruel sort of kindness in the end: and it seems plain, that even

Warburton, though his mind was commonly set on another mode of distinction than is bestowed by "pieces of preferment," yet was by no means proof against the ill effect of such constant goading and fretting.

Another point in him, which savours of the coarseness of the age,—more, however, as it should seem, in unison with Warburton's naturally unselfish temper,—is his unsparing use both of compliment to his friends and correspondents, and of invective against his adversaries. They may be mentioned together, since both belong to the same character, and both are so much on the surface of every part of Warburton's writings, that they need only just be mentioned. One ought, we suppose, to speak with a certain degree of respect of what was so long the received practice of so many worthy and sensible people; else, it must be confessed, there does appear something exceedingly and unspeakably grotesque in the position of two persons, coolly sitting down and addressing each other with such highly-wrought periods as these:—on the one hand, "You are an extraordinary man, and will make one admire and love you, whether we will or no. Mr. Allen finds in you what he imagined (till he experienced the contrary) was in all divines, because it ought to be there:"—on the other hand, "Such and such a publication was not worth, perhaps, your owning in form; but your reputation was not concerned to suppress it. One sees in it your early warmth in the cause of virtue and public liberty, and your original way of striking out new thoughts on common subjects." Persons in the warmth of affectionate intercourse may pour themselves out in this way, now and then, as in a kind of overflowing: but one could hardly conceive, apart from experience, their deliberately making a habit of it; polishing and rounding their periods, and filing their thoughts, to make them more brilliant and effective at the time; and, strangest of all, revising, assorting, publishing them many years afterwards. And although, doubtless, it is a kind of infatuation from which no time nor mode of human life has been exempt, yet it does appear to have been particularly prevalent in the literature of the first half of the 18th century. An evil omen for the schools of that time in respect of independence, manliness, delicacy of thought; and worse, almost, for the broad compliments they habitually endured, than for the savage, unsparing censures they occasionally uttered.

These are sometimes violent and contemptuous enough; and that with little or no provocation. E. g. "*Of this Johnson*" (the author of the *Rambler*), "you and I, I believe, think much alike;" which Dr. Hurd complacently illustrates by the following sentences, from a letter which his friend had inclosed to him:

"The remarks he makes in every page on my Commentaries are full of insolence and malignant reflections, which had they not in them as much folly as malignity, I should have had reason to be offended with. As it is, I think myself obliged to him in thus setting before the public so many of my notes, with his remarks upon them; for though I have no great opinion of that trifling part of the public which pretends to judge of this part of literature, in which boys and girls decide, yet I think nobody can be mistaken in this comparison; though I think yet thoughts have never yet extended thus far as to reflect, that to discover the corruption in an author's text, and by a happy sagacity to restore to sense, is no easy task; but when the discovery is made, then to cavil at the conjecture, to propose an equivalent, and defend nonsense, by producing out of the thick darkness it occasions, a weak and faint glimmering of sense (which has been the business of this Editor throughout), the easiest, as well as dullest, of all literary efforts." *Letters to Hurdis* p. 367.

By way of further illustration, we are tempted to produce though to the reader, probably, for the twentieth time, part of the passage in Johnson's Preface, in which he adverts to Warburton's edition:

"Of the last Editor, it is more difficult to speak. Respect is due to his high place, tenderness to living reputation, and veneration to genius and learning; but he cannot be justly offended at that liberty of which I have myself so frequently given an example, nor very solicitous what I have thought of notes, which he ought never to have considered as part of his serious employments, and which, I suppose, since the ardour of composition is remitted, he no longer numbers among his happy effusions.

"The original and predominant error of his commentary is acquiescence in his first thoughts; that precipitation which is produced by consciousness of quick discernment; and that confidence which presumes to do, by surveying the surface, what labour only can perform by penetrating the bottom. His notes exhibit sometimes perverse interpretation and sometimes improbable conjectures; he at one time gives the author more profundity of meaning than the sentence admits; and at another discovers absurdities, where the sense is plain to every other reader. But his emendations are likewise often happy and just; and his interpretation of obscure passages learned and sagacious.

"Of his notes, I have commonly rejected those against which the general voice of the public has exclaimed, or which their own incoherence immediately condemns, and which, I suppose, the author himself would desire to be forgotten. Of the rest, to part I have given the highest approbation, by inserting the offered reading in the text; to part I have left to the judgment of the reader, as doubtful though specious; and part I have censured without reserve, but I am sure without bitterness of malice, and I hope without wantonness of insult."

And then he proceeds to moralize, so as that no one can mistake his drift, which evidently was the satisfying Warburton himself on the melancholy imperfection of human knowledge, and how

ver causes "great part of the labour of every writer" to be only the destruction of those that went before him." Nor would it be easy to find out any note in his volume, in which he has deviated from this tone, of respect and unwillingness, where he had to censure.

On the whole, if, as some have thought, any school or set of principles may be most fairly judged of by its leading disciples and professors, those who share in Johnson's High-Church prejudices, rather than in Warburton's more popular views, may contemplate as some advantage to their cause the great contrast in tone and temper, exhibited by these two distinguished men, when they happen to interfere with each other. If Johnson's Catholicism must bear the blame, as it sometimes does, of what is accounted melancholy and slavish in his thoughts, in all fairness let it have the benefit also of his superior courtesy and charity on his trying occasion.

We will add a specimen or two more of Warburton's way of putting down those whom posterity has delighted to honour:—

"At Oxford, like the ancient Pagans, they are only for deifying their head kings. One Horne, of Magdalen, has preached at St. Mary's the last 30th of January sermon, in which he defends the old parallel in favour of Charles the First. This *Horn-work*, raised against all attacks upon that sacred character, may truly be called a *Bull-work*. He tells his audience I am worse than his murderers, for saying he risked his crown with great complaisance of conscience in support of Episcopacy. If any thing could be fancied to exceed this their enormity, it must be supposition, were such a supposition possible, that this noble attachment to the Church should be sneered at by a churchman of that high order, for whose preservation he resisted even unto blood. But what then? The authors of the Revolution are worse still; for he calls *the doctrine of resistance to Government, a diabolic doctrine*." (Bishop Horne's expression really is, 'To eradicate out of the minds of men those diabolical principles of resistance to government in Church and state, which brought his sacred head to the block.') And if ever there was resistance to Government, it was when a few people called over the Prince of Orange to turn out King and Parliament, and the army on Founslow Heath. But the surprising part of the affair is, that Brown, the Vice-Chancellor, should give his *imprimatur* to all this insult on the present Constitution."—*Mr. Kilvert's Selection*, p. 263.

The fact is, Horne had ventured, both expressly, and by several allusions, to remonstrate in this sermon against something in one of the Bishop of Gloucester's, preached the year before to the House of Lords. Warburton had in effect ascribed the breaking up of the treaty to the king's implacable mind.

"The patriots plainly understood they had mortally offended a vindictive king; for though the martyrs could forgive, yet the monarch was

of a different temper; and that, sooner or later, they or their families might fall a sacrifice to his resentment."—*Works*, v. 309.

It seems to have been in allusion to this sentence that Bishop Horne said,

"When we consider what sort of enemies he had, and yet how mild and gracious he showed himself in all his dealings with them, which they took care to repay as such men always do; we cannot but be much surprised to see, in one of the latest discourses published on the occasion, the epithet of *unforgiving* applied to him; and find ourselves in a manner irresistibly compelled to suppose it an error of the press."—*Horne's Works*, 111, 411. Ed. 1818.

Again, Warburton, in the opening of his sermon, had talked of "comparisons impiously invented" as a blemish in the observance of that memorable day: hinting, as it seemed, his own acquiescence in the shallow sentiment which sometimes makes people object to the reference, made by the Second Lesson and the Gospel, to our Lord's own Passion: *shallow*, we make bold to call it, in all who consider the king's death as a real martyrdom in a sense, since it proceeds on neglect of that deepest Christian principle, of the Communion of Saints,—our Lord really suffering for his members; when, moreover, that principle is brought strongly before us by the providential fact of the chapter of the Passion, the 27th of St. Matthew, being the regular lesson for the day in the Church of England. However, Mr. Horne in his sermon dwelt much on the justification of this topic, expressly stating his reason, that "exception had been taken at discourses on this day's occasion, as well as at some parts of the church service: appointed for it, on account of their instituting what have been termed *impious comparisons* between our Lord and the role of a martyr."

Again, Warburton had said in his *tranchant* way, "what was only policy in James, became religion in the martyr Charles; and king-craft is made of much more ductile stuff than church bigotry." Evidently it was this which gave occasion to Horne's protest: "This most Christian king regarded the Church as the spouse of Christ, for whom He disdained not to shed His most precious blood; and the Church of England as that portion of this Church, of which himself was appointed the guardian and protector. It was not through *church bigotry* or *pious prejudice* that he was so firmly attached to her constitution, but from a full and thorough conviction of its rectitude and conformity to the apostolical model." Further on, he proposes to amend the terms *Patrot* and *Puritan*, with which Warburton had qualified the coalition of the king's enemies, by changing them into *Rebel* and *Scis-*

natic. Altogether it is not hard to imagine the scorn and wrath with which this old-fashioned descant would be received by the great champion of liberal principles: and it is amusing to see how quietly he dismisses it, little dreaming that its author would hold place in the estimation of future times, more enviable surely, though of course not so high, in a literary sense, as his own.

On the most celebrated of Warburton's controversies, that with Bishop Lowth, occasioned by a difference of opinion on the origin of the Book of Job, one only remark shall be made here: that, unlike the two former cases, the offence in it was given by a writer of the same school, generally speaking, in religion and politics, with Warburton himself. For Lowth was patronized by Bishop Hoadly, and in his dedication to the Life of Wykeham, professes that "he shall always esteem himself highly honoured in having once enjoyed the patronage of the great advocate of civil and religious liberty." But this did not win him any favour at Warburton's hands, nor shelter him from the well-known imputation of having been bred up in "the keen atmosphere of wholesome severities." In vain had he put his antagonist in mind of their common Whiggism, professing himself "a staunch republican and a zealous Protestant in literature," who would "never quarrel with a perpetual dictator, or an infallible pope, whose decrees are to be submitted to without appeal, and to be received with implicit assent. *Manus hæc*, so he goes on, *inimica tyrannis*. My favourite principle is the liberty of prophesying, and I will maintain it with my last breath."* This appeal, however elegant and reasonable, to the great revolution principles, was apparently thrown away upon Warburton: on the next ground of offence that arose, he was prepared without ceremony to set its author down as a dunce. "*Answerers by profession*, was a title I ventured formerly to give to these polemic divines; and the dunces of that time said I meant the lawyers. I lately spoke of *the keen atmosphere of wholesome severities*, meaning the high-church principle of persecution, disguised by the professors of it against Mr. Locke, under the name of *wholesome severities*; and the dunces of this time say, I meant Winchester and Oxford."† Poor Dr. Lowth! his liberal education and politics could not excuse him for questioning, without some very particular and laudatory apology, any portion of the argument of the Divine Legation; and it may be that he fared all the worse, notwithstanding the above disclaimer, for his connection with Oxford, which had no very long time before declined making Mr. Warburton a doctor.

Why are we dwelling so much at length upon the weaknesses

* In Warburton's Works, vii. 1010.

† Letters to Hurd, 372.

of distinguished persons, to whom sacred literature is under great obligations? Because we cannot but think, that in these cases especially the age may have been chiefly to blame; and it is a great point for men's instruction, to be provided with as complete draught as possible of the character which belongs to this or that set of opinions. Now it was the tendency of that divinity which came in fashion at the Revolution to deny the supernatural and invisible; and of the corresponding philosophy, that of Locke, to make all evidence traceable to the five senses; and the consequence naturally was, that external tangible goods, such as fame and preferment, would be allowed to take up more room in our thoughts than they probably would have done under a severe system. Warburton himself was well aware of one exceedingly ill effect, which the political events of the beginning of the last century had upon the Church and theology of England. The passage is that, the tone of which so grievously disgusted Mr. Jane. It is long, but worth quoting, for the confirmation it gives to some recent statements, which the admirers of the English Revolution are slow to believe. Warburton is professing to trace the steps of the prevailing irreligion, which he is ever complaining of, in common with most of his contemporaries.

"The most painful circumstance in this relation is (as your lordship Lord Mansfield, "will feel), that the mischief began amongst our friends by men who loved their country, but were too eagerly intent on one point only of their object, the security of its civil liberty. To trace up this matter to its source, we need go no further back than to the happy accession of that illustrious house, to whom we owe all which is in the power of grateful monarchs, at the head of a free people, to bestow I mean, the full enjoyment of the common rights of subjects.

"It happened that at this time some warm friends of the accession, newly gotten into power, had too hastily perhaps suspected that the Church (or at least that party of churchmen which had usurped the name) was become inauspicious to the sacred æra from which we were to date the establishment of our civil happiness; and therefore deemed it good policy to lessen the credit of a body of men, who had been long in high reverence with the people, and who had so lately and so scandalously abused their influence in the opprobrious affair of Sacheverell. To this end they invited some learned men, who in the preceding reign had served the common cause, to take up the pen once more against its pestilent enemies, the Jacobite clergy. They readily assumed the task, and did it so effectually, that under the professed design of confuting and decrying the usurpations of a popish hierarchy, they virtually deprived the Church of every power and privilege, which, as a simple society she had a claim to; and upon the matter, delivered her gagged and bound, as the rebel creature of the State.

"But this was not the worst. These enemies of obnoxious churchmen found much assistance in the forward carriage of the enemies of

religion itself; who at this time, under pretence of seconding the views of good patriots, and securing the state against the encroachments of church power, took all occasions to vent their malice against revelation itself; and passion, influenced by opposition, mixing with politics throughout the course of this affair, these lay-writers were connived at, and to mortify rebellious churchmen still more, even cried up for their free reasonings against religion, just as the clergy writers had been, for their exploits against church government. And one man in particular, the author of a well-known book called the Independent Whig, early a favourite, and to the last a pensioner, carried on, in the most audacious and insulting manner, these two several attacks together. . . . Certain it is, that the attack never ceased operating till all these various kinds of free-writing were gotten into the hands of the people.

“ But . . . our politicians were so little apprehensive that the matter had already gone too far, that they thought of nothing but how to improve some collateral advantages they had procured by the bargain; which, amongst other uses, they saw likewise, would be sure to keep things in the condition to which they were reduced. For now religion having lost its hold on the people, the ministers of religion were of no further consequence to the state; nor were statesmen any longer under the hard necessity of seeking out the most eminent for the honours of their profession. . . . All went now according to their wishes. They could now employ church honours more directly to the use of government, i. e. of their own, by conferring them on such subjects as most gratified their taste or humour, or served best to strengthen their connexions with the great. This would of course give the finishing stroke to their system. For though stripping the Church of all power and authority, and exposing it naked and defenceless to its enemies, abated men’s reverence for it; and the detecting revelation of imposture, serving only for a state engine, had destroyed all love for religion; yet they were the intrigues of church promotion, which would make people despise the whole ordinance.”—t. ii. 265—268, 4to.

We can hardly be wrong in accepting this as an instinctive confession, on unequivocal authority, of the results of the famous settlement of the last century on the influence of the Church, and of Christianity itself, among us. But there was another set of evil consequences, on which he hardly touches: it was not only that the faith was far less generally received, but also that the defenders of it took far lower ground than heretofore. There was deterioration within as well as weakness without. We have been giving evidence of this in the practical notions, which churchmen, some of the most respectable, were constantly avowing: now let us consider a little in what ways it was likely, if not certain, to vitiate theology. First, it is obvious that the evidences of the Gospel, technically so called—its external outworks—would, under such circumstances, engross and absorb many minds, which might be much more profitably employed on the substance of the faith

itself, and its application to the various maladies of the soul. This, it will be sufficient just to have mentioned; it being a matter which has of late been largely elucidated.

Then there was not only a great chance of certain momentous matters being neglected, but there was added a kind of positive repulsion between most churchmen's prejudices and feelings and the mysterious parts of the Church's doctrine, its sacramental observances, and supernatural claims. *Cui bono?* was the first question, after stating the subject of any inquiry. A calculating spirit was brought into these gravest of discussions: the intended direction and bearing of all things, even the most unquestioned church rules, or expositions of Scripture, was ever wanted to be made out. A taste, which suited better with Warburton's restless ingenuity, and eager desire to explain and account for all things than with the obedient simplicity of ancient Catholics; among whom the *ὅτι* was the great thing; *that* being credibly made out they had no need of the *ὅστις*. Add to this, that there was a prevalent disposition to be very political in all their speculation, to look towards nations and other masses of men, for reasons and results of the supposed conduct of the Deity: and there were exaggerated notions of the value of liberty, as such, which forced themselves into several parts of theology, and, as may be suspected, greatly lowered men's views on many things, without the dreaming of it.

It is not, perhaps, very hard to see, how these circumstances affected, more or less, the conception and execution, the fortune and eventual utility, of Bishop Warburton's great work. Warburton's all its overflowings of learning and eloquence, of anecdote, and pointed sayings, and ingenious reasoning, the reading of it, we suspect, proves to very many rather a wearisome task: and the more (we say it not invidiously) the more as they are more imbued with Catholic feelings, more used to devotional reading, more used to let faith go before in all their inquiries on sacred subjects. And in saying this we do not so much allude to any thing in the Bishop's mode of handling his argument, or to any expression of his own mind and temper, as to something inherent in the very argument itself. It has, of course, the common inconvenience of all apologetic works and statements of evidence; that it puts the believer's mind in an unnatural position, requiring of him to look at things, for the time, with an unbeliever's eye. But the evil is peculiarly felt in this case, by reason of the extraordinary length and reach of the discussion, and of its taking us far and wide into regions, very remote at first sight, from the holy ground of the Gospel. Not that we would exclude such subjects from Christian instruction; the difference would rather be in our mode

of introducing them. As we find them treated in the Divine Legation, the effect is too much like the painful overstraining of the sight, which would be felt, were any one purposely to remove himself from an object to the extreme point of distinct vision, and there continue gazing on it. He would leave off with aching eyes, and with a feeling that he had rather been learning how much those eyes would bear, than acquiring any real and satisfactory knowledge of the object.

And this effect in the particular instance is further aggravated, if we mistake not, by the political cast of the whole disputation : which allows, nay requires, the widest possible range through the history of laws and government. It appeals not, like some other branches of evidence, (that, for example, which Paley treats of,) to our natural feeling how an individual would act under certain circumstances, but to a long and learned induction of the practices of public men and political societies. The suspense, therefore, in which it would hold the mind, is made the more irksome, in that it has not, as in the other case, an instinctive feeling accompanying it, what the result of the inquiry must be : neither are the details of ancient legislation, through which it leads us, of the same invigorating and refreshing cast as those of the history of the apostolic Churches, which constitute the thread of the common historical argument, whereby the evil effect of that argument, as an apology, is greatly mitigated.

It may be said, and has been, that the same sort of objection lies, in an equal if not superior degree, against the work of Warburton's greatest contemporary ; that *it* also takes us to a painful distance, and there bids us contemplate things, instead of permitting us to enjoy the truth as we have it. But (not to go deeper at present) is there not this great and obvious distinction, that the *Analogy* is altogether a practical work : a work which aims not at satisfying the mind, but at forming the heart, and guiding the conduct, though the mind should remain unsatisfied ? It contains, therefore, in every page what may serve to restrain or encourage men, not only in the unhappy case of general perplexity as to the truth of religion, but also in any particular matter of doctrine or conduct, more or less grave, on which their conscience may need guidance. All persons, therefore, are interested in it, except those rare and fortunate beings, who neither have any doubt themselves in religious matters, nor know of any so troubled, for whom in justice or charity they are bound to think.

But with Warburton's theme the case is very different. It can hardly be said to come home at once to any man's business and bosom, excepting, indeed, that of a statesman or legislator ; and this

accords well enough with the fact, that it seems to have excited greater interest among lawyers and politicians, and those in general who have to treat with the Church as it is *established*, than with those who have been used to contemplate it only or chiefly as it is true and divine. To the latter class the inquiry about the Mosaic sanctions would seem, at first sight, an insulated point, in regard of which they might well be content to remain ignorant or doubtful: it was enough for them to know that "the old Fathers did not look only for transitory promises," from whatever quarter their better hope arose.

And it would not, perhaps, greatly prepossess them in favour of this new argument, when they found that it claimed to be no less than a matter of *demonstration*; not such a "moral demonstration" as Bishop Taylor had constructed, by bringing together a few words, from their several sources in known history and experience, that famous "conjugation of probabilities," whereof though each one severally might be evaded, the combined effect is "to possess all the understanding, and fill all the corners of consideration;" but Warburton's demonstration is contained in one single syllogism, yet pretends to something "very little short of mathematical certainty," and to "admit of no opposition, but of a bare physical possibility of the contrary:" phrases of themselves sufficient to startle and discourage practical men, since all such have learned, that "probability," not demonstration, "is the very guide of life."

Further: as the bare statement of the main argument shows once that we are to be taken into the regions of political discussion, so the writer's manner throughout evinces that he feels himself peculiarly at home there: he will not take you along with him, unless you are so much of an Englishman as to give to politics a part of that vehement interest, which a *consistent* Christian, perhaps, would feel for religion and the Church alone. Not more, you must be so much of a revolution Whig as to take for granted the distinguishing tenets of that school, as supposed to be proved by Mr. Locke and others: as the original contract between king and people, of which we are to believe the foundation of the Jewish theocracy was an instance, in what Warburton calls the Horeb contract, as described in the 19th chapter of Exodus. Another instance is, the so-called doctrine of toleration, which is assumed, in order to argue from it that idolatry must have been punished among the Jews as an offence not against God alone, but as their temporal king. And a third and more remarkable one is the unscrupulous exaltation of civil and religious liberty, which, after all, is but a blessing of this world, into almost

a co-ordinate object with those which the Gospel sets before us. Thus, in a passage before produced, he seems to think it a sort of apology for the godless policy adopted at the Hanoverian accession, that "the mischief was done by men who loved their country, but were too eagerly intent on one part only of their object—the security of its civil liberty." Perhaps it may seem a still stronger example, that he hesitated not to apply the sacred and mysterious words of St. Paul, *Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty*, to the transient earthly enjoyment of a free constitution: telling us, that it is "one of the nobler sort" of blessings implied by the term *liberty* in the text: and enouncing what follows, as a material part of the meaning of the apostolic words.

"Above all, that grandeur and elevation of mind, that sublimity of sentiment, that conscious dignity of human nature, which true religion raises, which Holy Scripture dictates, and which the Spirit of the Lord inspires, will be ever pushing us forward to the attainment of those civil rights, which, we have been taught to know by reason, are ours, and which, we have been made to feel by experience, of all others are the most necessary to our happiness."

One may question whether there is not almost as great a perversion—may we not say *desecration*? of the holy words, in this sentence, as in the almost ludicrous application which he had made a few months before of a verse of the Prophet Joel to the Highland army in England. "I will remove far off from you the northern army, and will drive him into a land barren and desolate."

However, in this overweening talk of human dignity and civil liberty, Warburton was but following the fashionable *quasi-idolatry* of that era; perhaps we might say, of our country, for a century and a half: a superstition not confined to any one school in theology, as may appear by the well-known lines of a writer who differed from Warburton in almost all but this.

"O most degrading of all ills that wait
On man, a mourner in his best estate!
All other sorrows virtue may endure,
And find submission more than half a cure:
But *slavery*!—virtue dreads it as her grave:
Patience itself is meanness in a slave."

These were the sentiments of the eighteenth century: we see what they have produced, and are likely to produce, in the nineteenth. If any one would wish to compare them with those of the first, full information is at hand. "Art thou called being a slave? care not for it: but even if thou mayest be made free, submit to it rather: ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ δυνάσαι ἐλεύθερος γίνεσθαι, χρῆσαι μᾶλλον." St.

Chrysostom's remark on this is, "Astonishing! where has he put slavery? As circumcision profits not, and uncircumcision does no harm, so neither doth slavery, nor yet liberty. And that he might point out this with surpassing clearness, he says, *But even if thou canst become free, use it rather*: i.e. rather continue a slave. Now upon what possible ground does he tell the person who might be set free to remain a slave? He means to point out that slavery is no harm, but rather an advantage."

But to return to Warburton: there is another circumstance besides this excessive care of earthly liberty, very apparent in his treatment of his great argument, as indeed in all his works; a circumstance, which is apt to annoy sincere and simple minds, and prejudice them against him altogether: and that is, the great comparative forbearance which he exercises, towards some of his opponents, who were infidels or near it; while to others, who might err, but were most unwilling to be even heretics—much less to throw aside religion—he hardly observes the rules of common courtesy. Mr. Kilvert, after Bishop Hurd, has remarked this in regard of Dr. Middleton particularly. Middleton had long before, in controversy with Waterland and Pearce, said some things (to use Bishop Hurd's guarded expression) "which gave occasion to suspect him of a leaning towards infidelity." Among these "suspicious" things, he had treated "the Mosaic account of the fall as mystical fable; and had ridiculed, in every variety of contemptuous expression, its literal interpretation." . . . He had recommended "moderate and qualified sentiments concerning the divine origin of the Jewish religion, and the divine inspiration of its founder Moses; which will otherwise, he said, prove a stumbling-block to men of understanding."* The account of the confusion at Babel he also gave up, as unworthy of credit. He recommended a plan of defending Christianity, "grounded almost entirely upon hypothetical concessions to the Deists; in order to convince them, that should we allow Christianity to be a mere imposture, on a level only with all the other impostures that have obtained in the world, it would not be difficult to show from the dictates of reason, that an attempt to overturn it, as it is now established by law, derived from our ancestors, confirmed by the belief and practice of so many ages, must be criminal and immoral. Upon this notable plan," concludes Bishop Van Mildert, "the author would undertake to build the only defence of Christianity that men of reason and understanding can approve."

Notwithstanding this and a great deal more, Warburton with

* Bishop Van Mildert, *Life of Waterland*, p. 162.

out of his way, in the Preface to the first edition of the Divine Legation, to speak of Middleton as not only a candid and respectable writer, but as one of the most formidable adversaries the Freethinkers had. This he did, as he himself says, in the hope of reclaiming Middleton by gentle treatment: but it proved fruitless, and he was content afterwards, on some new offence, silently to drop his acquaintance, and to erase the ill-advised sentence from the Preface or rather Dedication in question. In the mean time it was no great wonder, that an intimacy thus persisted in and expressed drew upon Warburton himself unpleasant suspicions.

His constant mode of speaking of Bayle, whose scepticism is notorious, might be considered another case of the like questionable partiality. Never was admiration more eloquently expressed than in the few brilliant sentences in which Warburton sums up his character.

“Mr. Bayle, the last supporter of this paradox” (that atheism is not of course destructive to society) “is of a very different character from these Italian sophists. A writer, who to the utmost strength and clearness of reasoning, hath added all the liveliness and delicacy of wit: who, pervading human nature at his ease, struck into the province of paradox, as an exercise for the unwearied vigour of his mind; who with a soul superior to the sharpest attacks of fortune, and a heart practised to the best philosophy, had not yet enough of real greatness to overcome that last foible of superior minds, the temptation of honour, which the academic exercise of wit is conceived to bring to its professors.”

What a pity for both parties, that the subject of this brilliant and truly classical eulogy should have been one, who gloried in any thing rather than in faith! whose whole writings were more or less openly directed against Catholic sentiments and principles!

Further: while Warburton dealt thus amicably with sceptics, who were opposed to him *de summa rerum*, he resented, we have seen how angrily and scornfully, the remonstrances of such as Lowth and Johnson, concerning mere points of criticism, on which comparatively little or nothing depended. Was there not some real temptation to doubt his sincerity? although, as we now know for certain, without real cause.

Now we conceive that in this sort of indulgence to irreligious philosophy, besides what there might be of unconscious vanity, the defender of Christianity was influenced by the political axioms in which he had been bred. The idea of Toleration extended itself to his intercourse with them, literary and social. An honest abhorrence of their society and writings, on account of the false

and impious conclusions they came to, would have been felt by him as a kind of persecution for opinion. In the cases of Bolingbroke and Voltaire it was otherwise: besides the outrageous conclusion, there was every kind of unfairness, scurrility and ribaldry in their mode of managing their argument: and with this Middleton, to any great extent, could not yet be charged, for his *Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers of the Primitive Church* was not yet published. Warburton therefore gave him the full benefit both of his personal acquaintance with himself, and of his comparative decency of manner. Of course there was something amiable in this, but that it was a mistaken kindness, there can now be little doubt. Besides the instinct of friendliness, his object was, "if possible, to draw his friend off from that bias, which his passions rather than his judgment, he conceived, had impressed upon him, by putting the fairest constructions on his writings, and by affecting to understand them in the most favourable sense."* The event, as far as regards Middleton himself is recorded in Warburton's own words, from a letter written just before Middleton's death.

"I am much concerned for the poor man, and wish he may recover with all my heart. Had he had, I will not say piety, but greatness of mind enough, not to suffer the pretended injuries of some Churchmen to prejudice him against religion, I should love him living, and honour him when dead. But, good God! that man, for the discourtesies done him by his miserable fellow-creatures, should be content to dive himself of the true viaticum, the comfort, the solace, the asylum from the evils of human life, is perfectly astonishing."—*Letters to Hurd* p. 55.

We transcribe this sentiment the rather, because it seems to show that Warburton's separation from Middleton, which had taken place long before, arose not, as might seem at first sight, from any casual differences or minor points, but from an instinctive feeling that the one was too earnest a believer, the other too near to unbelief, to allow of solid friendship continuing between them. Here, as in other respects, it may be regretted that Warburton was not bred up in a severer and more primitive school, a school which would have taught him that acute speculation, candid and courteous demeanour, a high standing in literature, and other such recommendations, made no difference in the substantial duty of reserve towards those who had openly attacked the Creed or the Church of Christ. "If any man come unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house,

* Hurd's *Life of Warburton*, p. 22.

neither bid him God speed." The Apostle makes no exception in favour of ingenious reasoning, or courteous language: the one thing he bids us look to is the correspondence or disagreement of the doctrine with the Creed of the Church. If Warburton had been taught to understand and obey him literally, either his intercourse with Middleton would have come sooner to an end, and the Divine Legation and its author would have been saved all the scandal and embarrassment, inseparable from association with him: or Middleton himself might have been led to more serious thought; at least, his irreverent tendencies would have lacked that encouragement, which in such cases is always derived from the continued favourable notice of one or two serious and orthodox persons, marring the effect of the reserve practised by others. But Warburton individually is not to be blamed for this want of charitable austerity: it was the manner of his age, and of the friends to whom he would naturally defer when he first became known as a divine. Observe the tone in which Bishop Hare of Chichester writes of this same Middleton.

"I have been told he looked on me as an enemy, in being against some preferments he has been pushing for, though indeed without reason. It is true I was for other persons, but without having heard, or in the least suspecting, that he was a competitor: though, indeed, had I known it, I should in my judgment have been against him; not from any ill-will to him, but *because I truly think no one thing can hurt the King and his government more, than distinguishing by his favours men marked for heterodoxy or infidelity.* Nothing has more alienated the minds of the University, Clergy, and serious Christians, than the jealousies that have been long entertained of this kind. *And this is the single reason that I should be against Dr. M's promotion by the crown: who is certainly an ingenious man, and has a fine pen.*"—*Remains*, pp. 101, 102.

This letter suggests a great many serious thoughts: but we will not trust ourselves at present to make any further remark on it, than that it sets Warburton's own conduct and sentiments in a very favourable point of view. Never, when at the lowest in point of Catholicity, shall we find him countenancing the notion that "a fine pen," and the good of the House of Hanover, were to be adopted by an English government, as the only or chief measures of capability for preferment in the Church. Indeed we have seen how earnestly he complained of this very tendency in the Whig ministers of that day: in this respect as in several others, rising above the notions of the school, into which circumstances had first thrown him; and taking his place among those who might be called the salt of our Church in that time of decay, and helped, by God's mercy, to preserve it from entire secularization.

One thing which tended to this happy effect, as may be reasonably thought, was his intimacy with Bishop Sherlock, whose correspondence with him on the argument of the Divine Legation constitutes the first and most instructive portion of these selections. But not even to Sherlock, when writing to him about Middleton, does it seem to have occurred that a defender of Christianity was put in a false position altogether, by continuing in unreserved intimacy with so irreverent a speculator.

To return to the argument of the Divine Legation, from which we have been carried too far by the mention of the prejudice excited against it, on account of some whom the author appeared to favour. Both Sherlock and Warburton himself appear to have apprehended, that its reception in the first instance would be greatly damaged by its appearing in parts: and so no doubt it was. Yet so far as we are now in possession of the whole frame of his work, by help of the summaries in the Fragment of the Ninth Book, and elsewhere; it may be questioned whether an equal prejudice will not arise in a considerate believer's mind, on finding himself called on to contemplate and admit so very complete a scheme: a system which professes to leave little or nothing unexplained in the great dispensation of the Gospel, and to be in many important respects, new; new in theology, in the same sense as the Newtonian discoveries were new in physics. These two pretensions he puts forth in so many words, in the introduction to the ninth book:—

“A method of inquiry, whereby, *from the various genius, the comparative excellence, the mutual dependence, the reciprocal illustration* of the several parts of God's moral dispensation to mankind, and the gradual progress of the whole towards perfection, *great discoveries* have been made in these latter times.”

And again,

“If in these times, the advances in the knowledge of God's will should haply prove as considerable as those in the discovery of his works, it will not be beside a reasonable expectation.”

Now are not these strange and startling words, to those who set out with such maxims as, *quod primum verum*, and “the faith was once for all delivered to the saints?” And is it not, even in philosophy, a dangerous process, to assume, as this mode of reasoning appears to do, that the apparent perfection of a system, its accounting for all the facts of the case, sufficiently proves it to be true? “A successful search,” he says, “after religious truths, can be the only expected when we erect our system upon facts,—acknowledged facts, as they are recorded in Sacred Scripture. For if th

dispensation to which such facts belong be indeed from God, all the parts of it will *be seen to be* the correspondent members of one entire whole; *which orderly disposition of things, essential to a religious system, will assure us of the true theory of the Christian Faith.*" All this has an intricate philosophical air, not very obviously suited to the setting forth of those things, which were of set purpose hid from the wise and prudent, and revealed unto babes; and in professing to explain so much, it has almost (we would say it not invidiously) an *empirical* sound, not well calculated to attract those who have had experience of man's ignorance, and of the deep mystery into which all supernatural knowledge is sure soon to withdraw itself.

Besides, there are in this summary of the great writer's religious theory several propositions requiring very distinct proof, since at first sight they appear to contradict either Scripture, the Church, or experience: yet they are almost taken for granted, and what is more perplexing, assent to them is enforced in such a tone, as if without them the Gospel would not stand. For instance; that the image of God, in which man was first created, lay in the faculty of reason only:* whereas the Apostle seems to tell us that a main part of it at least was *righteousness and true holiness*; supernatural goodness, like that to which our Lord restores us by His grace: and Bishop Bull† has produced abundant testimonies of Christian antiquity in proof of that interpretation.

Yet, says Warburton,

"This natural state of man, antecedent to the Paradisaical, can never be too carefully kept in mind, *nor too precisely explained*; since it is the very key, or clew, which is to open to us, and to lead us through all the recesses and intimacies of the last, and compleated, dispensation of God to man; a dispensation long become intricate and perplexed, by men's neglecting to distinguish between these two states and conditions; which, as we say, if not constantly kept in mind, *the Gospel can neither be well understood nor reasonably supported.*"

Again, he affirms it as a truth of natural religion, that "on repentance and amendment, God will pardon, and be reconciled to offenders."‡ Now this, as Bishop Butler has shown at large, is far from being borne out by the analogy of God's natural government; nor does it seem clearly to follow from Warburton's own hypothesis. The sanctions of natural religion, according to that hypothesis, (and we do not wish to dispute it,) are indefinite: *some* reward for the obedient and dutiful, *some* penalty for dis-

* Works, vol. iii. 620.

† On the State of Man before the Fall.

‡ Warb. iii. 627.

obedience; how does this show that repentance must ensure reconciliation? Would not mere mitigation of punishment be as much as we could dare to expect? Yet of this doctrine also, of the natural efficacy of repentance, Warburton says, "that it is founded on the clear principle, that, taking in the whole of a good man's existence, God will bestow on him more of happiness than of misery: to deny which, will tend to confound our distinct ideas of a good and of an evil governor of the world."

Again; it is a main link in Warburton's chain of doctrine, and one of the great distinctions he would establish between Natural and Revealed Religion, that the condition of God's favour in the one is moral, in the other positive, obedience. "*Moral virtue* was the condition of that favour and protection which the creature, Man, *claims* from his Maker; but the observance of a *positive command* was the condition of the *free gift* of immortality. Such words as "claim" are perhaps better avoided when we are speaking of what man, antecedent to express promise, may expect from God. But the startling circumstance in this portion of Warburton's theory is his making Faith, the Faith which justifies and saves, Faith in Christ crucified and in the Most Holy Trinity, positive, not a moral duty: while the common feelings of men rather surely respond to the statement of his greatest contemporary: "The office of our Lord being made known, and the relation He stands in to us, the obligation of religious regards to Him is plainly moral as much as charity to mankind is:"* with much more to the same purpose: which all of it seems so undeniable, that when we return from it to Warburton's speculation, we feel as if the difficulty must have occurred to him, and search anxiously for some explanation: the rather as Bishop Butler's view is warranted by the addresses of the Prophets: "If I be a Father, where is mine honour? and if I be a Master, where is my fear?" and by the many Parables in which our Lord represents Himself as a Shepherd, a Householder, the Master of a Feast; and in other relations such as are commonly supposed to bring with them serious obligations, antecedent to express command. If one had to deal with a less acute mind than Warburton's, one might almost be tempted to suspect here some confusion, between Faith as the *condition* upon which God grants His favour, and the same Faith as the *instrument* by which we apprehend it. In that latter sense indeed it may be, to our understanding, a kind of positive, sacramental ordinance, conveying or continuing our union with Jesus Christ in a sense in which other Christian graces do not so. But if the obligation to it arise, as it seems to do, necessarily out

* Anal. p. ii. c. 1.

the Redeemer's relation to His redeemed, one does not see how it can ever be separated from its moral nature.

These are all material points in that "attempt to explain the true nature and genius of the Christian Religion," to which Bishop Warburton had been continually referring his readers, while his work was in its first imperfect state, for satisfaction in obvious difficulties: points, which seem to require a good deal of explanation, but are left without any, and without any apparent consciousness of such need on their author's part. Is it improbable that many may have been deterred by them from proceeding to study the earlier parts of the work, and prejudiced against the author's views in general; not simply as a lover of paradox and novelty, but as one on whose guidance they found they could not rely, on account of his seeming, from time to time, quite unaware of the difficulty of the ground he was conducting them over?

Considering all these and other obstacles, some of them no doubt far more unfair and unreasonable, the main argument of the Divine Legation made its way, perhaps, on the whole quite as rapidly as could be expected. It would be correct, we suppose, to say, that with certain modifications—such, e. g. as are stated in Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch—it is now generally adopted among Theologians, as a true solution of many scripture difficulties, and a sound view of a most important portion of "the ways of God to man." Entertaining as we do a deep respect for the work, as well as for the genius, learning, and virtues of its author, may we be permitted in conclusion to make a few general remarks, which have occurred to us in our occasional examinations of it, and which we hope may be not altogether useless in helping its readers to reap all the benefit which he designed them from it?

We would suggest, then, to all, what instinct, we suppose, teaches to all earnest believers: that in studying such works as this, they should endeavour as much as possible to neglect the apologetic form of them, and rather to consider themselves as reading an explanation of some details, in that which they know beforehand to be divine. This surely is the true, the instructive, the reverential way of looking at the particulars of the holy counsels of God: instead of putting our minds in an unnatural posture, and withdrawing to a distance, and winking hard, that we may see how they appear to those who are purblind, or have not so much light. Thus instead of coolly and suspiciously surveying the word of the Lord by Moses, in order to shape it out, by rule and plummet, into what men call internal evidence, we shall humbly and adoringly trace out the prophetic intimations, which

we know exist there, of the better dispensation to come. We shall recognize in the Hebrew nation, as St. Augustin teaches us, one great Prophet, a Prophet by typical action, whose doing and sufferings were over-ruled to represent those of our Lord and His mystical Body. In regard more particularly of the omission on which Warburton's argument is grounded; the want of an express recognition of a future state in the body of the Mosaic Covenant; the view we should take of it would be probably something like this: that God's covenant with the Jews being in the first instance national, and regarding individuals only in a secondary sense, its sanctions could of course only be temporal, since no society but the Church of Christ will be continued in the other world. As to individuals, they were left to what tradition or nature could teach; with the advantage of the clearer revelation of God's moral government which the Law afforded. The national Covenant, then, being made the sole object of attention, a wonderful and instructive scene is opened by the relation which bears to the Gospel.

The Jewish people, it is allowed, were the type of each particular Christian: God's dealing with them as a nation, was shadow and earnest of His dealings with us as individuals. The covenant with them at Horeb answers to our baptismal covenant: their deliverance at the Red Sea to our baptismal grace: the manna in the wilderness to our bread from heaven: their nation's sins and defections, to the discontent, the sensuality, the schism of unworthy Christians. Thus the Church has ever taught, under the guidance of that Spirit, which said by St. Paul, "These were all our examples,"—*τύποι ἡμῶν*. The sanctions then of God's national covenant with the Jews, temporal as they were, providentially typified our eternal punishments and rewards. The land flowing with milk and honey, the fountains and depths springing out of valleys and hills, the miraculous providence which supplied the sabbatical year, and kept the enemies from desiring the land while the people were gone up to their feast: these and the other parts of the theocracy represented the means of grace, God's care for His redeemed: and the peace, abundance, wealth, and liberty of the Israelites in their better and more obedient days, were signs and pledges of the things which God has prepared for them that love Him. In the same way, the curses threatened by Moses to the disobedient, the heavens over the iron and brass, the rain of their land powder and dust, their whole land brimstone and salt and burning, the haunt of noisome beasts, and of the evil diseases of Egypt, were understood to be lively, though imperfect, images of the terrors, first, of excom-

munication in this world, then of reprobation in the world to come.

As far as mere belief of the truth of the religion is concerned, it seems evident that this detailed, ever-growing process is far better fitted to form and rivet it in the heart, than any argumentative polemical statement can be, however strictly guarded by the rules of sound reasoning. The nearer we are to the centre of the fortress, the more comprehensive and satisfactory our point of view: it is but an unprofitable piece of display to go out of it, and take a station where we can only see a part of the outer wall, in order that we may show our skill by guessing what must be within.

And if we leave the mere question of evidence, and look to practical instruction, warning, and encouragement, there is no comparison, surely, between the two methods. How much, for example, do we learn on surveying the ancient dispensation, with regard to the single doctrine of repentance,—repentance after wilful sin, in persons who had been taken into immediate covenant with God. The hints of possible mercy for such, comparatively rare in the New Testament, are strengthened and brought out by consideration of God's way of bearing with the Jewish nation; while the gravest evidence is given that punishment of some sort or other may be expected in all such cases. Israel was not cast off, but she must undergo captivity, and lose the glories which distinguished her first Temple: the penitent backslider may be saved, but so as by fire; so as to bear about him for an indefinite time the marks of decay and wilful imperfection.

There is something deeply wonderful and engaging in the pursuit of this kind of analogy; in being allowed partly to perceive how the political fortunes of a nation, so far off in time and place, were ordered with a view to the inward struggles of some poor nameless private Christian in some unknown part of the world: and how that which most startles and perplexes men in daily life, the sinfulness of orthodox believers in the full enjoyment of the means of grace, had the edge of its scandalousness, so to speak, taken off long ago, by the inspired record of the rebellion of the Israelites, even while the Cloud of Glory was in their sight, and the cry of Dathan and Abiram just perishing in their ears.

In thus considering the sanctions of the Jewish law, as addressed to the people rather than to individuals, we are at issue with Warburton, who, as is well known, would extend them alike to both: but it seems to have been rather generally felt, that this is by no means the strongest part of his argument. Bishop Sherlock, in a letter published by Mr. Kilvert (pp. 74, 75), says,

"I cannot help thinking that you will find it hard to come at suffi-

cient proof of such *extraordinary* providence towards *particulars*, as your scheme seems to require."

And again (p. 84),

"As to the passages referred to, to support the extraordinary providence to particulars, I cannot agree with you in all. But I have but one thing to say to you on it: that you should avoid all doubtful and uncertain proofs in supporting a notion which you know will be so hardly received."

Dr. Graves, though he allows to a great extent the manifestation of an *extraordinary* providence towards individuals (which indeed is plain on the face both of the law and history of the Jews in many instances), yet when he comes to state the circumstances which might lead the ancients more or less directly to the thought of a future life as at least possible, dwells on the suffering life of Moses in particular, as an instance of that providence being far from *equal*. And there are other signal cases: one might specify, in particular, those of Samuel, of Jonathan, and of Elijah, which tell very strongly in modification, if not in disproof, of this part of Warburton's statement. It is fortunate therefore, that he has himself declared it to be unnecessary to his main argument.

"I show (he tells Sherlock, p. 67) that it extended to individuals as well as to the public; *that yet if it did not, its extending to the public would be sufficient to my point*, as superseding all necessity of the doctrine of a future state for the ends of civil society."

Elsewhere he suggests many circumstances, which must have mitigated this providence in its administration; and which, taken all together, may well cause a doubt, whether it could ever practically have produced a rational feeling of a visible, *equal* providence; equal in the dispensing of rewards as well as punishments. Good men would always acknowledge it, and would feel sure that it must be so in the end: but it would always be more or less a matter of faith, not of sight.

Supposing this view correct, it has the further advantage of removing the misgivings, which naturally arise, on the statement of Warburton's argument, from the amount of the sanction which the Almighty is apparently there made to give to the love of wealth, power, and ease, and to the other subordinate motives which, when we turn to the New Testament, we find to be so earnestly repressed and discouraged. If the Providence over individuals was marked by occasional interferences, sufficient to prove it *extraordinary*, yet not so dispensed that men could discern it to be *equal*, then it would be seen that the good things of this world were held out to God's people, not as adequate

jects in themselves, but as tokens of His fatherly approbation and lovingkindness, which Faith would still feel to be "better than the life itself."

"In these promises," says the great Pascal, "each person finds what himself has at the bottom of his own heart, temporal or spiritual goods; God, or the creature: but with this difference, that those who seek the creatures therein, find them, but with many contradictions; with a prohibition to love them, with an injunction to adore none but God, and to love Him only: while those who seek God only, find Him without any contradiction, and with command to love none but Him."

All this suits well with a dispensation, which left the people, as individuals, in possession of such probabilities in favour of a future state as they must gather either from tradition or natural reason; or from those instinctive longings, which could not but make themselves felt, and more or less bias men's conduct; however lightly it has pleased this great theorist to dismiss the consideration of them. But the moral tone of the Old Testament is not equally reconcileable with a plan which studiously excluded and repressed, while it was in its full operation, all warnings and forebodings of the kind. The sort of indefinite hope to which it would lead considerate minds, is undeniably expressed both in the Psalms and Proverbs: the saying of the widow of Tekoah to David seems to show that it may have been popular: "*We must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again: neither doth God respect any person: YET DOETH HE DEVISE MEANS THAT HIS ANISHED BE NOT EXPELLED FROM HIM.*" Warburton dwells on the first half of the verse, to show that "there was no popular expectation of a future state, or resurrection:" it is remarkable, and lessens our confidence in him as an interpreter, that he should quite pass over the last clause, which at least required explanation in his hypothesis; especially since Bishop Taylor, a favourite writer of his, took this very verse for the text of his funeral sermon on Lady Carbery; and there descants on it as on a clear intimation that "the righteous hath hope in his death."

Indeed, since Warburton himself has unreservedly admitted the statement of our Church in the seventh article, that the old Fathers looked for more than transitory promises, and has largely illustrated it by the case of the sacrifice of Isaac, one does not very well see how he could deny the probable existence of a tradition, however faint and inadequate, to that effect. Was it probable that God's chosen servants, the fathers and leaders of the Jewish nation, could or could entirely suppress all hints of this greatest of consolations? Is it not rather likely that the sure but indistinct hope, which

had been graciously given to them, was transmitted, as occasion might serve, to their children and servants and others committed to their charge! The notion, we know, of a possible resurrection was suggested to Abraham's mind, and helped to reconcile him to the sacrifice of Isaac; what was there to hinder him from mentioning this thought, in subsequent discourse, to Sarah, and to Isaac himself?—a thought, which being once presented to the reflecting mind, would not easily pass away, nor fail to mingle with all its most serious speculations: such a thought, that he who has been conscious of it can never again be as if it had never occurred to him. Thus a presentiment, half instinctive, half traditional might maintain itself among the more serious Israelites, which might materially assist them in devotion and goodness, even where it fell greatly short of anything like a settled faith. But it seems to be an infirmity of some superior minds, to be very impatient under unsatisfactory information; and perhaps Warburton's was among the number. It might seem to him that persons left in doubt on so material a question as a future life, are much in the same condition as if they knew nothing at all about it. He would not, of course, have set this down in so many words: but if he were unconsciously influenced by such a feeling, it may account for many things which otherwise seem strange in the conduct of his great argument:—for the extent to which he carried his notion of the insincerity of the Pagan philosophers in their teaching about a future life; as well as for his wishing to make out that the Jews, in regard to that great Truth, were purposely kept in state even more unfavourable than the heathens.

In this, as in most parts of this great writer's character, both personal and theological, one could wish for a more subdued and reverential tone of thought: as it is, while we admire his genius and eloquence, watch his inquiries with deep interest, and love the naturalness and affectionate warmth of his character, there is continually something to sadden us in the reflection, what he might have been, had he fallen on better times—times which would have thoroughly disciplined his rude virtues, and brought his luxuriant speculations into more entire conformity with the teaching of ancient Catholicism. But the example need not be the less instructive, because it is in one sense melancholy. In any rate, it is an important chapter in the history of the Church to which the volume before us will prove a material addition.

RT. VII.—1. *The Rich Man's Duty to contribute liberally to the Building, Rebuilding, Repairing, Beautifying, and Adorning of Churches.* By Edward Wells, D.D., some time Rector of Cotesbach, in Leicestershire. To which is added, *The Journal of William Dowsing, Parliamentary Visitor, for demolishing the superstitious Pictures and Ornaments of Churches, in the Years 1643, 1644.* 18mo. Parker. Oxford. 1840.

A Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian, and Gothic Architecture. The Third Edition, enlarged. Exemplified by Seven Hundred Woodcuts. 2 vols. Oxford: Parker. London. Tilt. 1840.

MUCH and deserved attention has been lately bestowed both on the scientific construction and the ornamental features of the stone vaultings in our ancient churches,—those wondrous structures, which whole quarries are suspended in mid air with all the lightness of the fleecy cloud, or the forest's leafy screen. But the open timber roof, a subject of almost equal interest, has been almost entirely overlooked. After much inquiry, we have not been able to hear of any recent work or treatise upon it. Yet the open timber roof comes much more within the compass of modern means and modern resources than the stone vault, and gives scope for taste and ingenuity to an unlimited extent. In very few churches is a stone vault at all practicable or advisable. It requires considerable height to set it off to advantage, and calls for perfect correspondence in the rest of the building: nor is it safe without greater strength, and especially greater *weight*, than we usually see in modern walls and buttresses. The open timber roof may be adapted to any church, of any size, and almost of any expense. It matters not how near it is to the eye. It requires little abutment, and experience has now proved it to stand as well as any kind of roof whatever.

The simplest and the earliest form of roof is the tie beam with rafter or queen posts. Such probably were the roofs of the ancient temples. No attempt was made to conceal the construction or make it more graceful. The beams were however often covered with plates of the precious metals, and sometimes were wholly of bronze. The majestic basilicas of Rome are spanned by roofs of the same simple barn-like construction, without an attempt at ornament or disguise. Vast and massive tie beams seem to be necessary to the classic styles, and the first corruptions from them, which deal mainly in straight lines and whose chief principle of construction depends on perpendicular pressure. This sort of roof is the very hy-

pothesis of the Grecian temple, the triglyph being the supposed projecting end of the beam. It must also be observed, that in this style, as well as in those immediately derived from it, the windows, and all the chief features of the architecture, were entirely below the level of the beam.

It was however found that the tie beam interfered with the loft arches and windows of the Gothic styles, and was also incongruous with their light aspiring character. In the larger and more costly churches, the roof was entirely hidden by the stone vaulting, at least it was generally, for there are many exceptions. The stone vaulting was adopted both for its beauty and also for some additional security against the frequent conflagrations which we read of in the early history of our cathedrals. It acted like a party-wall to prevent the fire reaching from the outer shell of the roof to the inside, or from the inside to the roof. But a stone vault, as every one may perceive, though a wonderful gain in point of beauty, safety and durability, entails some great sacrifices. It cut off from the interior space and elevation the whole valley of the roof, losing sometimes thirty or forty feet of the height; for the crown of the arch is always some feet below the tie beam: it practically limits the width of the building, and it requires an immense additional strength of wall and abutment.

York Minster affords a curious negative proof of the advantages and disadvantages of the stone vault. The latest architects of York, to whom we are indebted for the grandest interior in the kingdom, could not confine themselves to the usual limits of English cathedrals, and at the same time could not afford the immense additional expense of exceeding those limits in a safe legitimate way. They substituted a fabric of timber in imitation of stone vault, which by its lightness admitted of greater width and a more elegant style of architecture, and by running up into the valley of the roof obtained an unprecedented height. In consequence of this, the choir of that minster, exclusive of the aisles, is about twenty feet higher and six or seven feet wider than the average of that part of English cathedrals. People who have recently stood gazing with awe and wonder up that glorious vista are sure to feel disappointment when they enter the sister pile of Lincoln, or any other cathedral. They feel a want of space and height. The architect of York succeeded entirely as far as grandeur of effect is concerned.

As we have said, however, this was obtained at a great sacrifice. The timber imitation of vaulting, so far from being, like stone, an additional security against fire, increases the danger, by bringing near one another two complex frames of wood, two piles of fuel. When the incendiary Martin set fire to the choir, had the vau

above been of stone, the organ and all the lofty stall-work would have blazed away like faggots in a baker's oven, and the fire would soon have spent its fury without doing any further mischief to the edifice itself, but what a few buckets of whitewash would have set right. As it was, the first wreath of flame that reached to the wooden arch above spread like lightning through the roof, and made the destruction of the whole choir inevitable. Again, at the recent similar calamity, the burning timber inside one of the west towers fell down to the floor, and would there have burnt out, but for the inflammable nature of the vaulting over the nave. It is true that extraordinary precaution and watching may provide against such a misfortune (and certainly such a roof requires that they should never be intermitted), yet we think the fate of York Minster puts that style of roof quite out of question for the future. It also reminds us that any double frame of woodwork, such as that universally in use for the last century, containing an inner ceiling of lath and plaster, is more liable to such catastrophes than the single framework of an open roof.

There are a few cases, as at Peterborough, in which we find the rough timber work of the roof hidden by a wooden ceiling attached to the tie beams, and level with them, painted with brilliant contrasts of colour and fanciful patterns. It is, we believe, impossible to determine whether any of these flat wooden ceilings are of very early date; but till the fifteenth century, it is certain that where the funds did not allow a stone vaulting, the roof was left open to the rafters, with scarcely an attempt at ornament. We may still see frequently long lancet windows cut in two at their mid height by tie beams intervening between them and the eye of the spectator. So few exceptions are there to this construction of roof in the earlier styles, that a fastidious taste will reject for any style earlier than the perpendicular, the peculiar kind of roof which is the subject of this article. Much, for example, as we may admire the decorated style, if we wish to be in perfect keeping, we must not attempt to escape from the tie beam spanning our interior. It may be questioned, of course, whether we should submit to be so bound by mere chronological proprieties; i. e. whether we may not collect the beauties of different centuries, building our walls in the fourteenth, and our roofs in the fifteenth. For our own part, however, we feel strongly that architecture will never prosper unless it be treated as a science of facts, with the exactest regard to historical fidelity. Mr. Pugin, we observe, does not shrink from the use of the tie beam. In the magnificent interior of the new Roman Catholic chapel at Reading, thirty feet wide and fifty feet to the ridge, every timber of the roof is shown, the construction being

that of a barn roof, and the ties being plain beams seemingly without a moulding. The only things to carry off this bold extreme of simplicity are, that the beams rest on plain corbels of wood, all the timber is stained a deep chesnut, and the spaces between the rafters are stencilled with bright and showy patterns.

The first genuine attempt to make the frame of the roof lighter and more in accordance with the rest of the building, was the substitution of a wooden arch for the tie beam. This method was the more obvious, as in some processes the outer roof, over stone vaulting, was constructed on this principle, the walls being strong enough to bear the outward thrust of a stone and a timber arch together. In some cases however the outer roof was probably constructed archwise, as a substitute for a stone vault. The nave of Ely furnished an example of the open roof with the arched truss. The effect is of course disappointing, yet it has a beauty of its own. It may be as well to inform the general reader that in such roofs, though the innermost line of the wood work assumes the form of an arch, and the roof has the strength of an arch, yet as the braces forming that arched line are passed from rafter to rafter and strongly pinned into them, there is also a great degree of tie. In the particular roof we have instanced, the inner line is five sided, the two lower sides being formed by the feet of the rafters, the two next by braces passing obliquely from rafter to rafter, and the upper or horizontal side by a kind of collar joining these two last.

Most of these roofs have by this time been ceiled either with boards or lath and plaster, thus becoming angular coves, or many sided arches. Examples of this ceiling are perhaps to be found of various and of very uncertain date; but whether in any early specimen of the arch of timber, that is, in any one of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, the boarding is coeval with the roof, is much to be doubted. The ceiling of Merton College Chapel is of course some centuries later than the arched frame work itself.

But the Catholic architects were not people to work at a material long without discovering its capabilities, and developing it in proper and congenial style. Though they might occasionally use one material to imitate another, yet they preferred giving to each material an exclusive set of forms. Thus the nature and the natural idea of wood being wholly different from that of stone, wood being lighter than stone, being a tie, and admitting of long horizontal or oblique bearings, use soon led to a mode of framing timber roofs peculiar to that material, not directly imitated from any other, and not to be imitated by another. This is the kind of roof we now wish to bring into notice, as far as any thing we may say on the subject is likely to answer that purpose.

It may be described as a combination of the appearance and actual strength of the arch in various degrees, with the principle of framework or compagination. The tie beam is either partly or wholly cut away, there never being left more than about a quarter of its length projecting from each side. Its place is supplied by spandrels and braces pinned to the rafters and collars so as to form virtually one piece. The substitution may be compared to that ingenious little optical toy for illustrating the laws of reflexion. You look through a tube, which is so bent all sorts of ways that you may place your hand in the straight line between the two extremities, and yet you see through it as clearly and uninterruptedly as if the tube were straight and without obstruction; the object of sight being received and transmitted to the eye by reflectors placed at proper angles. Thus in the roof under consideration the strength of the tie beam is as it were carried by braces round the angles of the rafters and collars.

The history of this kind of roof is very remarkable. In the first place, its use as applied to churches does not appear to have lasted more than about half a century. The roof of Westminster Hall, the earliest we know of, was completed it is said, in 1399, and it is probable that many refectory roofs of that kind were built about that time. But it was not till late in the fifteenth century, when the discovery, for such it may be called, was already perfected both as to construction and appearance, that it was applied to churches; and as the events of the next century put a total stop to church building and to the progress of architectural art, this particular branch of the art had but a short term of existence. The life of one man might have witnessed the first roof of this sort ever placed on a church, and the destruction of perhaps hundreds of them at the Reformation, when it was not likely that any more would for the present at least be attempted. We have therefore the consolation of reflecting that if we now take up this branch of Catholic architecture, it is comparatively new and undeveloped. If now resuscitated, after its sleep of three centuries, it may be considered as still young in point of time, though brought in a few years to a great maturity of excellence. We may have some faint hope of even improving in this particular branch on the architects of that age, though, as there seems a law of fate against the entire revival of any good thing once gone by, this hope is very precarious. Still it is well to bear in mind that while Catholic architecture, generally speaking, was many centuries coming to its perfection, a perfection which it now seems beyond the power of man to carry further; this particular branch of it is young, has gone through few changes, and few adaptations to various circumstances. Thus we feel a confident belief that the roofing and ceil-

ing of our churches, which the miserable taste of these latter days has made the architect's greatest difficulty, is in fact the very point in which there is room for the free workings of genius and taste and successful originality.

In calling the attention of the architectural student and designer to this unexplored region of the art, we know we shall be responded to. A little has been already done, as we shall by and by have to notice, but nothing compared with what is yet to be done. The subject is one of boundless fertility. It has often been said that the vaulting was the chief feature of Gothic architecture, which ruled all the rest of the building, and drew it along through that wonderful series of improvements and inventions, which moderns can scarcely trace, or name, or number. We could almost predict that if taste and ingenuity be once roused on the subject of the open timber roof, we shall see a freer, more natural, more inventive and more poetic spirit in the general structure of our churches.

What can be more wretched than the roofs of our modern churches? If the rest of the building is tolerable, the roof is sure to be an eye sore. If the windows and pillars by chance shall just succeed in helping the memory to ancient days, the roof destroys the delusion, and instantly reminds us of newspaper subscription lists and church building committees. It means nothing; it contains no organization or system; it is ashamed of being a roof and hides itself. What is the theoretic notion of a flat whitewashed ceiling? Nor is it helped by being a little coved, by a plaster cornice, by a few slender mouldings of plaster or wood, or plaster painted to look like wood, or a little white slender tracery here and there with perhaps occasionally the pale ghost of a spandrel in cast iron or plaster, or the faint liney shadow of a beam as obviously as it is really unequal of itself to support the roof. What does a flat whitewashed ceiling stand for in the whole compass of creation, unless it be a vast marble slab clapped on the top of the building? And what sort of congruity has such a device with any style of Catholic architecture? Most of our modern church roofs inside can only be regarded as mere conveniences, mere plaster-salves to hide what to the modern architect is an incurable part of the church. He cannot devise a roof in character with the building! he cannot give a graceful and poetical character to the roof itself, that is, to the timbers of which it is composed, and so he hides the poverty of his invention and the scantiness of his information with an unmeaning surface of plaster.

Inside and outside it is often the same. There is scarcely an attempt to make the roof outside graceful in itself and in harmony with the plan of the building. The only attempt is to

conceal it if possible; if that cannot be, to make it unobserved. Often have we seen roofs of new churches sloping down like the roof of the conventicle at one or both ends, without even that gable, which, like the pediment of the ancient temple, seems a mark of dignity inseparable from a sacred building. A bold roof kept up its full height the whole length of the building, or of that part of the building which it covers, and with a visible and well defined termination, is a thing of the same class as an upright bearing of the body, a correct process of reasoning, a well sustained climax, or a straightforward line of conduct.

There happens not to be any minor question of taste and feeling to which the rule of universality more applies. Thus the chorus of birds in Aristophanes (*Aves* 1110), amongst various golden hopes which it holds out to the judges, promises, very possibly in allusion to some well known instances of private presumption, that they shall live as it were in temples, for that it will roof their houses with a pediment. Julius Cæsar was allowed by the senate the unprecedented dignity of a pediment to the front of his house, adorned like that of a temple, together with other honours heretofore confined to divinity; and we find the constitutional Roman very justly regarded it with a mixture of religious and political abhorrence, (*Cic. Phil. ii. 43*); and Plutarch, in his well known list of omens preceding the death of Cæsar, relates that Calpurnia woke her husband the previous night by her cries and groans in her sleep, having dreamt that the said pediment had tumbled down; and that on the strength of this warning she endeavoured to persuade Cæsar to adjourn the senate. There is a remarkable passage in Cicero de Oratore (*iii. 46*) on this very subject, from which we could wish that our modern architects would draw the double lesson, first, never to build a church without a good pediment or gable, and, secondly, to make the roof, which is a necessary part of the edifice, also a graceful and ornamental feature in it, instead of taking the plan of the roof from the carpenter, and then tricking out the church with ornaments that have no foundation in necessity or convenience. He is arguing the universal law, that all true beauty is founded in utility. Having illustrated it by a very wide and particular induction of the works of nature, from the mechanical system of the universe up to the human frame, he thus proceeds—

“From nature let us pass on to art. What is so necessary in a ship as the sides, the ribs, the prow, the stern, the yard arms, the sails, the masts? Yet they have all so much beauty of form that one would suppose they had been devised not merely for the working of the vessel, but also for the gratification of the eye. Columns are necessary to sustain temples and porticoes, yet they are of no less beauty than use. It was

not taste, but absolute necessity which formed that pedimented roof of the Capitol and other temples. For when it was considered how the water should be made to flow down from both sides of the edifice, the dignified form of a pedimented roof was found to agree best with the convenience of the temple; so that even if a temple were built in heaven, where there could be no rain, it would appear devoid of dignity, without a pedimented roof."

The argument which Cicero draws from the external effect of a rightly shaped roof, applies also with a peculiar felicity to the form and details of the interior. As the beauty of a ship consists in the graceful adaptation of all its necessary timbers, ropes and spars, so the beauty of a roof depends on a graceful modelling and arrangement of its beams, rafters, purlins and so forth. True beauty disappears and becomes mere grimace and foppery as soon as the notion of utility is lost sight of.

We are fully aware of very great obstacles in the way of a general adoption of the open roof in churches. There are obstacles much more serious than expense and difficulty in the construction, viz., inveterate prejudices. Of course it can be nothing but prejudice in the present instance. What else can it be? Certainly not the fear of insecurity. This is pretended, but cannot be real. The roofs in question have been tried by the long experience of three or four centuries, and most of them seem likely to last with care as many centuries more. In very few cases have those roofs failed in any respect; the joints have not gaped, the tenons have not been drawn out, the rafters have not broken, the walls have not given way to the pressure, whatever the pressure may happen to be, for in our opinion there is very little. Yet the roofs were, most of them, made with every disadvantage, and have never had fair play since. There is no doubt that most of them were put up while the wood was green, owing probably to its being procured from the immediate neighbourhood, and cut down no sooner than it was wanted. The result is that every piece of timber great and small has bent and twisted; the greater ones having some of them also split from the "but" upwards. This would happen in the first two or three years, after which there could be no further change, except decay from want of weather-proof tiling. To this must be added, that the walls were often of most indifferent materials, outside flint with stone quoins, and inside mere rubbish; also that in the clerestories there was, as a matter of course, no abutment except the weight of the walls themselves, which were perforated and weakened with numerous windows. Yet the roofs and churches still stand, and might be safely backed against modern workmanship. Many have been condemned and removed, but from mere ignorance; just as an inexperienced surgeon ampu-

ates a limb which he has not the skill to cure. Yet, in spite of a hundred examples of perfect safety and stability, examples which almost any country carpenter could copy,—for there is no secret in their construction,—it is said the Church Building Society, with the best professional advice in the land to guide them, will not grant a farthing where there is not a tie beam. Strange it is, that we, in the nineteenth century, should declare ourselves so utterly, so incomparably inferior in skill to our forefathers in the fifteenth,—in mere scientific ability,—in a mere question of strength of materials and mechanical construction,—as not even to *think* of doing what they did; not even to allow the inquiry whether it is possible to do what they did;—not even to look at or pay the smallest attention to any proposed plan for doing what they did, deeming it beyond a question hopelessly out of our power. Within five minutes' walk of the Church Building Society's office is one of the largest rooms in the world, in a very exposed situation, covered by one of these roofs, which for four centuries and a half has received the wind and weather on its vast slopes without requiring one bit more repair than if it had been bonded with fifty tie beams, or propped by a hundred pillars; while the walls have been almost picked to pieces by continual alterations, and we believe the greater part of the flying buttresses, which the architect added from an abundance of precaution, have by this time disappeared.

As for the probable expense of such roofs, we cannot help thinking it is greatly exaggerated. Much of it would arise in the first instance from the want of experience and manual skill incident to the revivers of an old art. This evil is one that a few years would remedy. The more general such a roof becomes, the cheaper will be. The cost of a large roof will not be in proportion to the cost of a small one, nor will the cost of twenty roofs be twenty times the cost of one. The largest and most complicated design contains not more than twenty or thirty different shaped pieces at the utmost, which are repeated in every truss. The difficulty is to get the exact shape and size, and the exact moulding. As soon as the workman has made one collar, for example, or one spandrel, he can make another in half the time. The first starting requires taste and ingenuity, but the work becomes more and more mechanical. Even the angels and other figures in these fabrics are all made in a very similar and it may be added in a very arbitrary and heraldic fashion. There are many manual operations, which require extraordinary taste and skill in the designer, and which cannot be learned without much toil both of body or mind, but soon become almost purely mechanical, and tediously monotonous. Take lace work for example;—take a piece of edging at *5d.* a yard. What can be more complicated to an uninitiated eye than the

fabric? What more exquisite than the design? Yet go into a village in Buckinghamshire and you shall see scores of poor children working at such patterns, doing each not far from a yard a day, though a very intelligent and handy grown up person, after a week's instruction might work a whole day and not do an inch, and even then have to do it all over again. There is nothing in our ancient timber roofs to compare with this. Let the art once be encouraged, and genius in design and dexterity in execution would every where spring up; lads would surpass their masters; mere journeymen at their bench would strike out almost involuntarily more beautiful mouldings and carvings than the architect in his study; they would find life and feeling in the edge of their tools; and elegance, which by the way is of itself as cheap as ugliness, would soon abound in the market. Every church would be a school of design accessible to all.

Surely the church that has made a "covenant with sacrifice" ought to render back to the Creator the first fruits of every art and science, every power of mind, and every natural production. That heavenly gift of taste and skill, which mimics and even perfects nature; which, while it bows to the Creator, yet asserts its dominion over every lower class of created things, should ever strive to use and consecrate its dominion to His glory and honour. Man is the priest of nature, and nature's praise should ascend through him. Brass, and marble, and precious stones, the gold of Parvaim, the cedars of Lebanon, the oaks of Bashan,—earth, mountains and hills, and all green things upon the earth, should, under our help and guidance, bless the Lord, praise Him, and magnify Him for ever.

Yet how little do we sanctify by sacred use the manifold gifts and blessings of this glorious isle! Not to approach that deeper question,—how far we employ to the spread of Holy Church our mighty fabric of political power and commercial intercourse?—let us ask, what are the first associations connected in our minds with our chief natural productions? The glory of our groves, the heart of oak, justly called the English iron, minds us first of war, most cruel, bloody unchristian war; then of commerce, with its thousand perils of body and soul; but perhaps never of any sacred application.

The truth of this national boast, that is, the tough and durable quality of this wonderful material, is indeed far more tested and proved in churches than in ships. The church stands a thousand years, and its oaken roof bids fair to last as long as the stone walls and marble pillars. Whereas a ship a hundred years old is accounted a sight and a miracle. Twelve years ago the ship that brought over the Prince of Orange was at last stranded and

broken up ; but it was said to be the oldest vessel in the world ; and sailors believed that nothing less than a special Providence could have preserved it so long. The oak of a man of war, which may be beaten to pieces, and scattered to the elements, or sent to the bottom of the ocean by war or tempest, and which the moth and rust, the worm and the rot are known to be making their prey even before it is afloat, and which often decays and perishes before it is once used,—that quantity of oak would make the roofs of many churches.

It was with a peculiar pleasure, and a feeling of rightful triumph, that we lately saw a huge balk of English oak, which had already travelled many a mile from its native wood, rescued from the timber yard where it lay on the point of being shipped for the neighbouring arsenal, carried another equal journey inland to a secluded village, and there cut up into spandrels and braces for the roof of a church now building. We do not wish to cast any light on the wooden walls of England, as if they were not lawful and necessary and honourable ; or as if we did not feel that we partly owe to them the wealth and security which enable us to sit at home under our own vine and our own fig tree, and worship the God of our fathers in churches at all, instead of assembling in barns and cellars, or in the gloomy shade of some primeval forest across the western main. We do not wish this, although we think the true wooden walls of England are not a pompous fleet of floating castles, but the stout hearts and patriotic spirit of our people, which, if truth and justice be on our side, are an all-sufficient protection. Churches however are considerably better things than men of war ; and in the altered destination of this piece of oak, we were reminded of the times, which, though yet unfulfilled to mortal eyes, may yet be hoped for, when “ He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people ; and they shall beat their swords into plough shares, and their spears into pruning hooks : nation shall not lift sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.”

But it is time we return to the objections, or rather prejudices, we anticipate in the way of a general adoption of the open roof. As we have throughout implied, to be done well, it ought to be done in oak. We do not question the possibility of achieving something nearly in the ancient style with deal for the long pieces, and cast iron for the braces and spandrels ; but the ancient style cannot be *perfectly* attained to without oak. The more elastic and bending nature of deal absolutely requires that edgeway position which is the great characteristic of all works done with this and other such wood, and quite prevents the breadth of mouldings and the variety of projections or difference of relief in

the various timbers, on which the beauty of the ancient fabrics so much depends. Now there exists a most decided absence of enthusiasm on the subject of oak in the whole race of architects. They will sacrifice it, if indeed they think it a sacrifice, for the sake of anything else however trivial. In an open roof perhaps the difference of using oak instead of deal will not be more than two shillings a square foot in the area of the church; that is, two hundred guineas in a church 70 feet by 30. Yet an architect would generally go to any extravagance in the way of niches, pinnacles, and windows, especially so placed in the building as to be neither ornamental nor useful, rather than secure this piece of old English substantiality,—this emblem, as we say, of the English Church.

The difference of durability between the two materials will be, that, taking the average rate of repair, or rather of neglect, to be found in our rural churches, and assuming also that when matters get very bad a little extra expense is gone to, the oak roof will probably last a thousand years or longer, and the deal roof, though indeed it has not yet been in common use long enough to say even thus much, may perhaps last a century or two. Decay works its way very slowly into heart of oak. The sap indeed an inch or two deep, and often the pith, and in most trees of any age a spongy part denoting incipient decay at the “but,” are not to be depended upon for lasting; and if they are exposed to damp, they will communicate decay to the sound part; though, under favorable circumstances, even they will last many centuries. But if the outside be heart of oak, it may be so situated as to be damp every change of weather, and yet even the appearance and colour of age shall not after four centuries have gone deeper than an eighth of an inch.

To those then who, judging from the past, anticipate ages of neglect for our churches, besides still more destructive casualties, this difference of durability is a matter of great moment, besides the question of present appearance, and the *moral* effect of the stronger and more dignified material. Why then is it made so little a point of? Custom has much to do with it. Then, deal is used exclusively in house roofs, and more houses are built than churches. Deal works easier, seems more pliant, and causes altogether less trouble and delay. Lastly, a deal roof, whatever it is will most probably outlive the founder, the architect, and the builder, and as long as it lasts it will do its duty as well as an oak one. People can scarcely help caring more for the walls than the roof. If there is anything amiss with the former, either as to its materials, its dimensions, or its construction, in the course of a year or two, nay, perhaps before the wall is finished, an ominous leaning

r bulging, or crack, or settlement, or some such untoward appearance, tells a tale very annoying to the builders, though the defect may not advance an inch further in a thousand years, and the wall may be really a very good one. But it is not so with a roof. It keeps its secret till almost the last moment. It is like the mass of snow, which may look to day just as it has for years, yet is in fact by the silent wasting of its materials so loosened from its mountain seat, that the sound of the human voice will to-morrow send it rolling down. If a roof gives any warning, it is only that all at once the beams are perceived to be parting from the wall, and on inspection, they are found to have no more bearing upon it than a few inches of touchwood honeycombed by wormholes through and through; and it is pronounced nothing less than a miracle that it should have stood so long.

After all, however, the most prevailing and insuperable objection to the open timber roof is its elevation and solemnity. The taste of the day revolts against it. Within the last fifty or sixty years numbers of such fabrics have been destroyed or hidden by flat ceilings, or masked, as it were, with unmeaning combinations of arches and tracery in stucco. This has been the fate of some of our college hall roofs, of which we shall give two or three instances. Some of these enormities have been perpetrated so recently that the authors still live to rejoice in their labours. Churches have suffered still more, because there are fewer heads at a time concerned about each separate church, and fewer obstacles, than in the case of buildings belonging to academical, legal, or commercial bodies. We are quite serious in expressing our belief that the positive aversion existing in many minds to any thing so grave and venerable as one of our open church roofs, is much more likely to prevent their restoration, than such negative objections as expense or the like, which money and skill can soon surmount. Would not many clergy rather preach in a meeting-house than an old church, provided there were a few bits of Gothic work stuck here and there to vindicate the supremacy of the Establishment? Do they not feel that the very stones and timbers of an ancient church would cry out against their style and doctrine, so that they would be perpetually damped and checked in the midst of their harangues? A momentary glance every now and then at the antique forms and hues of the sacred pile, would be like a note of that instrument by which the younger Gracchus was wont to have his too-impassioned tones reproved and moderated.

In the course of our rural peregrinations we lately came to a church of no little beauty, in a picturesque and secluded village, with every ornament of running stream, and green hill side and ancient wood. The place was evidently well cared for, and its

loveliness duly appreciated. The church walls had been partly rebuilt, the churchyard gates and fences were all new, and the turf newly mown. One of the approaches was protected, as it were, by a neat new school house, from which the busy hum of voices was heard. So far was good. But even outside were some things that a churchman might perhaps sigh to notice. The old rectory in the heart of the village and near the church, a substantial and commodious building, had been deserted, and a new, large and handsome mansion-like parsonage had been built a good quarter of a mile out, looking rather towards the winding river and its opposite bank of hill and wood, than to the homely cottages and farm yards of the village; from which also some new plantations promised further to secure it. A railroad, with a high embankment, and traversed by trains of remarkable length and speed two or three times in an hour, has since been carried a few hundred yards before the front windows, and between them and the river. This of course was not then anticipated, and is not one of the circumstances, which, as we ventured to intimate, one sighs to think upon; though it may possibly have elicited ere this something like a suspiration for the owner of that sweet retreat. Within the church also the traces of improvement were fresh and conspicuous. Wealth and pious zeal had evidently been at work, and, as evidently, had not contented themselves with merely nursing and propping up antiquity. The church had been new pewed, and a large increase of sittings secured. A commodious pulpit stood over the middle passage of the nave reduced to an economical width. Some old desks in a spacious pew at the east end of the north aisle had been very carefully re-edified with a good deal of new wood, and in them lay certain folios, we forget whether Jewel's Apology, the Homilies, or Fox's Martyrology. These had been newly and handsomely bound; the edges of the leaves were still sticking together, not having been used apparently since they came from the burnishing tool of the bookbinder: the repaired and beautified edges and corners of the decayed and worm-eaten leaves reminded us of the "Autobiography of G. B., Parish Clerk:" the whole equipment of brazen corners, clasps and chains, was very new and handsome. All this however was rather an imaginative than a practical benefit, though not the less praiseworthy on that account. The books were chained to the desks, and therefore could not be read at people's houses; and the church and churchyard were always locked up, except at service time, when the congregation had something else to do. It was therefore a highly poetical, though doubtless very instructive, *form*: and affords a pleasing illustration of the tenacity with which the human mind, even in its highest state of intellectual disenthralment, will

ill cling to forms; and if it has learnt to slight divinely blessed and divinely appointed ways and means, will find out something or other to feed its senses upon—something perhaps to other eyes most surpassingly empty and unprofitable. One was also pleased to observe an instinctive reverence for sacred relics and antiquity; nor did that instinct appear the weaker from the apparent inadequacy of the subject-matter which happened in this instance to call it forth. From the venerable folios we went to the altar, on which was a basin. What this was designed for was too obvious, and it was also obvious that it did not, like the folios, enjoy the dignity of a distinct locality and stand. It sent us however in quest of the original, which after a while we discovered under the gallery. A lid was on it, but before our eyes could see the interior, another sense gave most unequivocal testimony to the purposes to which it was applied. It stank abominably. The uplifted lid revealed an abyss of filth. Worn out mop heads, greasy clouts, unserviceable brushes, a whole winter's accumulation of candle ends from the evening service, the candle sockets coated with tallow and smut, and other nameless horrors, were all festering and corrupting together, and settling down into one undistinguishable mass. So that it seemed as if the wonderful neatness and cleanness which marked the whole village, and especially the precincts of the church, had only been obtained by collecting all the dirt and depositing it in the font, though why the well of healing, the laver of regeneration, the source of spiritual cleansing should be selected for that purpose, and made the sink of the parish, one cannot divine, except by reference to some very peculiar system.

The reader will think that our summer's walk has carried us a long way from church roofs, and by this time will be anxious for something to the point. We are coming to it at last. The church in question was lofty, in the perpendicular style, with high windows on the south side, on which was no aisle, and a very large window at the east end, reaching nearly to the roof;—which roof was, or had been an open one, a handsome specimen of the flat sort. Now will it be credited that this church, at least the nave of it, had been *lately* ceiled at two-thirds of its height, cutting off not merely the valley of the roof, which happened to be shallow, but also some six or seven feet of the perpendicular walls, and concealing the whole of the arch and tracery of the east window, leaving only the square portion to be seen? The church was of course as much transformed and vulgarized by this alteration, as St. Stephen's chapel was by having the House of Commons built in it. Ingenuity could not have devised a more efficacious receipt for reducing a Catholic church to the new-

light level of taste. However, as accidents will sometimes counteract the happiest and most judicious arrangements, the same untoward destiny which spoiled the view from the drawing-room windows, visited the ceiling we have just described. One fine day, happily for the congregation not Sunday, the whole came down together, having stood, we suppose, about as many years as the roof above had centuries. The pine rafters of the modern fabric, it appeared, were neither strong enough, nor seasoned enough, nor trussed enough, to support the lath and plaster; and so were drawn out of the holes in the wall made to receive them. We could wish a like permanency for all similar structures.

It is now time that we say something of the form and idea of the open timber roof: and that we may have some chance of making ourselves intelligible on the subject, we must request the reader to look further on for a plan of the roof, with the names on the several timbers, and an explanation below. The upright strut, or queen post as it might perhaps be called, which rises from the extremity of the hammer beam in most of these roofs, and which in some of the hall roofs is adorned with a pendant below, suggests the idea of a pillar cut away at that point, just as the hammer beam suggests the idea of a tie. The whole roof therefore reminds one of two rows of pillars dividing the area into three aisles. The idea of three aisles is more or less obtruded on the fancy of the modern spectator in different roofs; but there can be no doubt it must have been strongly in the mind of the builder. In the edition of the "Oxford Glossary" before us, under the head of Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages, are some very interesting notices of the ancient three-aisled hall, which show its prevalence.

"There were however in the twelfth century, other houses on a different plan, having a hall on the ground-floor, which went the whole height of the house; thus at Barnack *was** a hall, divided into three parts by columns and arches like a church; at Oakham Castle, Rutland, is a similar hall, which is all that now remains of the original structure built by Walcheline de Ferrers about 1180. The greater part of the palace of the Bishop of Hereford appears to have been originally a hall on this plan, having the columns and arches of timber. In a garden at Warnford in Hampshire, are two rows of very lofty octagonal columns of the latter part of the twelfth century, which appear to have supported the roof of a hall, and from their great height probably did so without intervening arches. It is not unlikely that Westminster Hall as originally built by William Rufus, was from its great width so

* It is mortifying to be obliged to speak of the existence of this most valuable specimen of domestic architecture in the past tense; it was pulled down about the year 1830."—*Glossary*.

arranged, and the roof thus supported: at a later period there occur occasional instances of a similar plan." * * * * "The roof of the hall at Nursted Court, Kent, built at a later period, was so framed as to stand about four feet within the walls, and to form by the two timber columns on which it rested two small side aisles and a centre, so far in plan like the earlier Norman halls of Barnack and Oakham."

The splendid hall of the bishop's palace at Wells, of which there are still considerable remains, was on this plan, as appears from the testimony of William of Worcester, who saw it about the year 1478, when it was perfect, for every vestige of the columns that supported the roof has been erased; "and other instances might be adduced," says Mr. Pugin in his *Examples*, "of halls so divided into nave and aisles, by arches and columns: indeed that seems to have been the usual plan in halls of large dimensions previous to the fourteenth century, when an improved manner of constructing arched roofs of timber superseded the necessity of columns." * * * * "The hall of the bishop's palace at Lincoln, erected nearly a century earlier than the above, was built on a similar plan. The central part of the roof was supported by two rows of pointed arches, four on each side." The 'exceeding fayre haul' of the palace at Wells, as Leland styles it, was built by Robert Burnell, who was bishop from 1275 to his death in 1292. It is an early and beautiful specimen of the decorated style. The width, which is 59 ft. 6 in., would not have rendered columns necessary in a more advanced state of the art of roof-making.

The three aisles of an ancient hall were of course very different from the three aisles of a church. In the former case no attempt was made to distinguish the middle aisle in height and dignity. The pillars were mere matters of necessity, put as far back, that is, as near the side wall as possible, in order to leave as much clear space as possible in the middle aisle or nave. The roof was externally all one span and frame from wall to wall. Many modern churches have been built on this plan, i. e. three aisles internally, but externally only one. It is needless to say that they more resemble halls than churches. In sacred edifices the pillars were made as prominent as possible, and became the stems as it were of the whole internal fabric, as essential to its beauty as the trunks of trees are to the appearance of a grove. In buildings for civil and domestic uses the pillars were soon found needless, and cleared away. The roof of a common barn will help us to understand this. An old weather-boarded barn is usually divided into a wide nave and two narrow aisles, by low wooden pillars, on which nearly the whole weight of the roof

rests, so that it would probably stand even if the sides of the building were removed. But as these pillars are even more inconvenient in a barn than in a refectory, we often find them dispensed with in the more costly kind of ancient barns, by the use of a cheap and simple form of the roof under consideration.

The pillars having been disposed of, but still existing in all the older refectories, and still also existing in the *mental* idea of a large hall, architects seem to have loved to show their triumph over the difficulty by that common feature in old roofs, the pendant at the extremity of the hammer beam, that is, at the point where a pillar would have come. These pendants remind one of the fibres or future stems dropped by the Indian banian tree; having in some sort the same relation to an actual pillar or stem. It is possible that the numerous pendants and other equally capricious decorations of Moorish halls, may have their origin in the many-pillared palaces of oriental antiquity. "The house of the forest of Lebanon" seems from the description to have been a vast hall whose roof, consisting of strong beams of cedar, was supported by forty-five pillars disposed in three rows.

It is remarkable that though the pendant of various lengths from a mere boss hanging down a few inches, to the five-foot pendants of Eltham, was so favourite an ornament of halls, we find nothing of the kind in any church roofs except a few instances of pendent pedestals to upright figures. In church roofs the architect wished to exclude the *idea* of pillars, and produce an undivided effect. The struts, that is, the perpendicular portion of the roof, are made, in the more elaborate examples, to spring from angels generally in a horizontal position, and never from any thing which could suggest the idea of a pillar. In some modern most praiseworthy attempts to revive this roof in churches, we think an error has been committed in this respect: the "bold octagonal boss," which a contemporary informs us, in one splendid example of revived taste and munificence, "hangs under every queen post," being rather the feature of a hall than a church. Whether our theory be sound or not, we feel pretty sure the precedent is against the introduction of this ornament in churches.

It is still more remarkable that while the pendant was scrupulously excluded from timber roofs in churches, perhaps not only for the reasons above-mentioned, but also for its more domestic civil associations, it was nevertheless introduced into the *vaulted* roofs of churches; and in a form still more suggestive of the idea of pillars. Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster is in a certain sense the Lady Chapel at Salisbury without its pillars. The latter is a wonder of art. Great part of a vaulted roof is sup

ported on single shafts of marble 30 feet high and a few inches thick, with of course several joinings in the length. The architect of the first mentioned edifice outdid this wonder by suspending apparently an equal portion of the vaulting from the roof itself, or rather by seeming to make it spring from nothing. We think we are right, however, in saying that this and similar roofs, though acknowledged to be as beautiful as they are wonderful, yet for some reason or other, probably from their excessive artificialness and curiosity, are not generally felt to suit a sacred building.

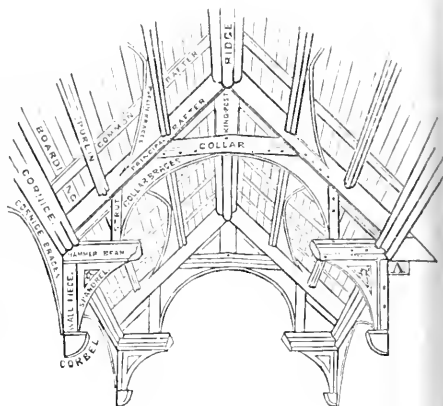
There can be no doubt that much of the eccentricity to be found in the last stage of Gothic vaulting was owing to a certain reaction from the open timber roof. The first timber roofs were to some extent, though only partially, derived from the idea of stone vaulting; and *now*, stone vaulting undoubtedly borrowed much from the timber roof. The clustered pendants and pierced spandrels of the Divinity School at Oxford show an evident intention to imitate its effect in stone, and a comparison of the roof of Christ Church hall with the vaulting of the choir of the same date will establish beyond a doubt that the style of the latter is to some extent borrowed from that of the former. There has again quite lately been another reaction, of a very misdirected and tasteless sort, back again from the stone vault to the timber roof; that is, people having lost the taste for the peculiar beauty of the latter, have endeavoured to adorn it or quite to disguise it with fan-tracery and other characteristics of the stone vault.

As it is possible that some of our readers may not be very familiar with the terms we employ in describing these fabrics, we have drawn a roof with the names upon the several timbers, forming a brief glossary addressed to the eye. We confess, however, great doubt as to the correctness of our nomenclature; and we take the liberty of referring the question to the learned editor of the "Oxford Glossary."* That work must shortly come to a fourth edition, (we see a Companion to it, with engravings, by Le Keux, already advertised), and we shall hope to find there the very terms employed by the original carpenters, supported by good authorities. In the meantime we must express our meaning as well as we can.

* We take this opportunity of noticing the two elegant open roofs given in the Glossary; Godshill Church, Isle of Wight, circa 1450; and Admeston Hall, Dorsetshire, circa 1508; which are in fact highly fanciful forms of the plan of roof under consideration: the principle admitting of infinite varieties.

Bay.—In walls, the portion between two buttresses : in roofs, the space between two trusses. The annexed wood-cut represents the whole of one bay, and part of another.

Boarding.—Laid over the rafters : sometimes parallel with the rafters, sometimes, as shown in the wood-cut, at right angles, or across them.



Braces.—Flattish pieces

cut into arches or other ornamental forms, filling up the angles made by the chief timbers of the roof, and being mortised into them preventing the angle from expanding or contracting.

Bracket.—The piece called in the above cut the spandrel ; or the spandrel, hammer beam, and wall piece together, is sometimes called the bracket.

Collar.—Joins the principal rafters, and tends to secure them from bending inwards or thrusting the walls out. It is sometimes called the wind-beam, from its serving as a stay against the wind.

Collar-braces.—The arched braces filling the angle of the collar and principal rafters.

Cornice.

Cornice-braces.—These secure each piece of the cornice from sinking in the middle : and usually correspond with the arc of the window below.

Common rafters.—Are laid across the ridge piece, purlins, and the side walls, supporting the boarding, and lead, or tiles.

Corbel.—Supports the wall piece or springer. In these roofs is often a mere ornament attached to the wall piece, the whole perpendicular pressure being really borne by the upper surface of the wall.

Foot of the Rafter.—Its lower end.

Hammer Beam.—This may be considered as the end of the beam left on the wall, after the middle has been cut away. It supports the strut or queen post, and itself rests on the wall plate, wall piece, and spandrel. There are sometimes two tiers, in which case the upper tier may be considered the end of collar beams left after the middle has been cut away.

King Post.

Knees.—Spandrels or braces.

Mortice.—A hole made in one piece to admit the tenon of another.

Pendants.—Hanging ornaments, used also to express what are here called spandrels. (See Oxford Glossary.)

Pin.—A peg or wooden nail securing the tenon in the mortise.

Pitch.—Perpendicular height of the angle of the roof above the level of the wall plate.

Principal Rafters or Principals.—Strong pieces secured to the upper face of the hammer beams, joined and strengthened by the collars, struts and braces, constituting altogether what is called a truss, and supporting the ridge pieces, purlins, &c.

Purlins.—Extend from principal to principal, and support the common rafters.

Purlin-braces.—Strengthen the angle made by the purlins and principals, and keep the trusses and whole roof upright: these roofs being apt to lean endways, from the action of the wind against the gables.

Queen Post.—See strut.

Rafter.—Principal and common.

Ridge.—The upper line of the roof made by strong pieces passing from the vertical angle of one truss to the angle of another.

Span.—Interior width of the space covered by the roof.

Spandrel.—Called also bracket, or knee, or springer, or spur, or brace. Fills up the angle made by the hammer beam and wall piece; and secures the extremity of the hammer beam from dropping under the downward pressure of the strut. Of course it cannot do this without a proportionate degree of outward pressure against the wall, which the wall must be strong enough to bear. Indeed one principle of the roof is to transfer to the level of the corbels, that outward thrust which would otherwise be at the level of the wall plate. The spandrel is also a great stay to the wall against the wind, acting as an inverted internal buttress. It is almost indispensable in the case of very lofty side walls and clerestories, even when the roof does not itself require it.

Springer.—See spandrel.

Strut.—Called also queen post, and sometimes brace. An upright piece standing on the extremity of the hammer beam, and propping the principal rafter.

Tenon.—A tongue projecting from one piece of wood and fitting into a mortise in another.

Tie Beam.—A strong beam tying together the side walls and roof, especially the principal rafters. It is dispensed with in these roofs.

Truss.—See principal rafters.

Valley.—The internal hollow of the roof. The space contained

by three imaginary planes passing through the rafters and the beams.

Wall Piece.—The upright piece standing on the corbel, against the wall, partly supporting the hammer beam and mortised to receive the spandrel, of which it may be considered a part.

Hall Plate.—A bond of timber laid on the top of the wall, on which the beams are laid. It was not formerly made so much a point of as now. A section of the wall plate (A) is shown in the above sketch.

Wind Beam.—See collar.

As we cannot think of any more scientific principle of arrangement, we will commence with a few of the far-famed Suffolk church roofs, as being the most important part of our subject. The remainder of our examples must make out an order for themselves. Our materials have so grown under our hands that we are obliged to defer to a future number the greater and perhaps the most interesting portion of our illustrations. We have taken them, as the reader will perceive, from a variety of sources public and private, and have not scrupled to avail ourselves of whatever bears on the subject. Our sole wish in doing so is to draw attention to it. The only object of our written remarks and of our humble engravings is to excite curiosity, and give a direction to taste. So long as we do this we care not one jot if our remarks and illustrations be thought loose, incomplete, and even partially inaccurate. Let others go over the ground and do it better. Our object will then be fully attained.

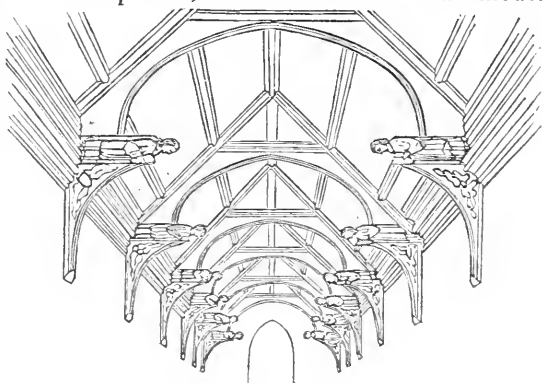
Suffolk was from ancient times, as Evelyn informs us, famous for its oaks; and many of its manors were reserved to the crown for the use of the navy. Happily, and still more honorably for the county, its oaks were applied to another purpose, at least more directly to the glory of God; as its many noble churches do testify. We have procured drawings of about twenty by a person who combines great practical skill and knowledge with a remarkable enthusiasm for this subject; who in fact like us, may be said to reverence an old oak roof. We have only room for a few of them in this number.

Nearly all of our examples as it happens were visited by the notorious William Dowsing, of whose achievements so amusing a record remains in his journal. Three or four of these we now give were visited on one fatal fifth of February; for very quick work was made. Gladly would we give the painfully ridiculous particulars under the head of each church, but we must refer our readers to the little book itself, the first at the head of our remarks: in which Dr. Wells and William Dowsing are exhibited as a happy contrast of piety and irreverence, edification and laying waste.

St. Mary at Stoke, Ipswich.—The walls of this church are some centuries earlier than the roof, so that no agreement between the two is to be expected, nor is the whole a fair model.

Indeed the plan of the building is rather a severe trial to the effect of this kind of roof.

The church consists of a nave and chancel of equal breadth, without aisles or transepts, or any thing to



break or carry off the great length. The interior dimensions are 77 feet 8 inches by only 18 feet. The walls are also very low, only 16 feet 8 inches. The windows are few and all very small, some lancet, some square Tudor, more suited for a cottage than a church, with a single-mullion pointed window over the altar, and a little light from the window in the tower. The result is that the interior looks very long, narrow, low, and dark, yet, owing to the roof, very handsome and church-like. Notwithstanding the want of light, the workmanship of the roof shows very clearly, owing to its being painted with a lightish water colour.

It deserves to be considered, by the bye, whether the present taste for dark colouring in wood work is not carried too far. We have seen it in some instances give quite a funeral gloom, very contrary to that cheerfulness which characterises true religious feeling, and which was evidently aimed at in the original designs of our ancient churches. Let any one observe the contrast between the sombre choir at Winchester, and the bright and airy chantry of its founder. The beauty of mouldings depends on the distinctness of the shadows, which is of course affected by the dark and glossy varnish so much in fashion. This applies especially to a high pitched roof. Its distance from the eye, and the difficulty with which the light from below seems to penetrate its valley, require that the mouldings should be very bold and deep, the angles all very emphatic, and above all, that the tint should afford every possible assistance. Where the wood-work has been stained by smoke, weather and such causes, or where it has been repaired and pieced with new timber, it is then necessary to har-

monize the whole by overlaying new and old with one deep colour. But this must be considered a second best expedient, not to be resorted to unless unavoidable.

The chief peculiarity of this roof is a very deep projecting cornice, a yard in perpendicular height, and consisting wholly of mouldings without any carved work. The roof extends at the same height over nave and chancel. The church was visited by Will Dowsing, and accordingly the angels have lost their heads. The rest of the figure being carved on the hammer beam, could not be so easily destroyed and still survives. The corbels also, which were merely ornamental appendages to the wood-work, and not inserted in the wall, have been sawn off. The length was originally broken by a screen, most probably of open work, which separated the chancel from the nave, and rose at least as high as the hammer beams. This appears from the circumstance of the pair of spandrels between the nave and chancel being carved on one side, i. e. towards the nave, and not on their chancel faces.

The walls are brick and flint plastered over, about a yard thick. Including the corner buttresses, there are five on each side, at equal intervals, except that a porch on the south side does duty for two of them. No parapet. Plain tiles. The under surface of the ridge is 8 ft. 6 in. above the upper surface of the hammer beams. The scantlings of the timbers are as follows:—Principle rafters 8×9 inches, laid flatways; purlins, as near as could be ascertained, the common rafters being ceiled over, $8 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches (unusually strong), and 7 ft. 6 in. long; ridge, 9×9 ; king post, 9×9 ; collars, 9 deep by 8 thick; spandrels and collar braces, 4 inches thick, an unusual strength for the collar braces, but necessary from the absence of perpendicular struts.

This roof would be a very good and simple model.

Westerfield, near Ipswich.—This roof is very like the last. The church is about the same length, width and height, without an aisle. Here also there was a screen, and probably a rood loft, between the nave and chancel. The beam to which it was fastened still remains on a level with the hammer beams, moulded on the nave side, and plain on the chancel side, with the mortise holes by which the tracery was attached still to be seen. This roof was some time since whitewashed, a very great barbarism of course; but if whitewash is one extreme, we must remember there is another. In this case the clergyman was persuaded to take off the whitewash and oil the roof. It now looks so black that the mouldings cannot be seen, and even some of the beauty of the construction is lost. The oil however cannot be so easily removed as the whitewash.

Very similar to the two last is the roof of a building lately

standing on the Quay at Ipswich, which though used as long as could be remembered for a maltkiln, was originally part of a house of Cistercian monks. This building was 80 feet by 9 ft. 6 in.; but the roof, probably at the Reformation, had been removed from the clerestory of a church a yard wider. Its original destination was clear



from the analogy of other church roofs; it having been adorned with angels, and adapted to ten small windows on each side. Its range of span appeared from the marks on the timbers. There was however one sign of it having some time or other witnessed festivities of no recent date; the lower ends of the spandrels being covered with the small nails with which tapestries were wont to be tacked up on great occasions. The device of a pair of shears carved on the spandrels indicated that the roof owed its original construction partly to the munificence of wealthy clothiers; a class to whom this county owes several of its most magnificent churches.

The limited scale of our illustrations precludes any attempt at accuracy in the mouldings and other details: but as the same character of moulding pervades the Suffolk roofs, perhaps our purpose will be fully answered by giving the mouldings of one roof, viz. the last mentioned, on a larger scale. It is necessary to say that the scale happens not to be uniform, so the dimensions are added below. We must warn such of our readers as may wish to use these roofs as models, that neither these nor any other of our drawings or descriptions are intended to supersede the necessity of exact drawings from the originals, either by professional or equally competent hands. Even in a small church it is better to pay fifty or a hundred pounds for good scientific assistance, than run the risk of committing blunders both in the ornamental and constructive part of the fabric which can never be remedied, at least not without a much greater expense. Our object in the present instance, is to warn our church building readers against Grecian, or Elizabethan, or modern, or common upholsterer's mouldings. The genius of the mouldings

in our roofs is quite peculiar and highly poetical. All the curves and angles, both in and out, are very emphatic, so as to strike the eye, and produce that deep and distinct shade so essential to effective moulding. Again, nothing can be freer and less monotonous than the line of the profile.

1. Hammer beam, 10×10 . About a foot from the extremity the lower side is cut away to receive the spandrel, on which the lower mouldings of the beam are continued, passing on to the springer or wall piece (5) and terminating at the corbel.

2. Cornice, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$. The mortise shown in the cut is that which receives the tenons of the cornice braces.

3. Principal rafters, 10 wide, 9 deep. It is shown in connection with the arched brace mortised to it, at the point where the curve of the brace comes nearest to the rafter, and where the brace is consequently the most diminished. The brace is throughout $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick; and at this point about 2 inches deep.

4. Ridge, $9 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$.

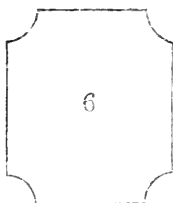
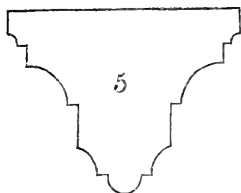
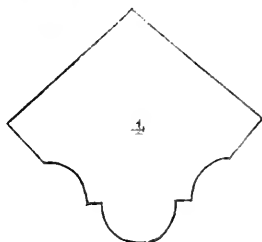
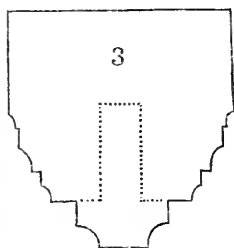
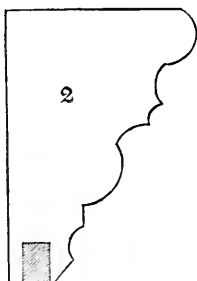
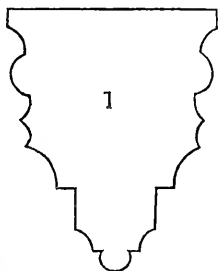
5. Springer, or wall piece, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. About 6 or 8 inches from the corbel, the front mouldings are cut away to receive the spandrel. The small hollow moulding nearest to the wall is a continuation of the moulding of the wall or cornice braces.

6. King-post, 9×7 . This piece, it will be observed, is very plain, and often has not even the simple moulding here given. It is indeed usually so plain as to make one ask the reason. It may be either that the great height of its situation, and the want of light, especially in the days of painted glass, would hide the moulding; or it might be the difficulty of combining its moulding with that of the ridge above, and the collar below. Another solution, if the peculiarity is considered to require one, may be found in the circumstance, that in a perspective view of these roofs from the middle of the floor the king post is of course seen in the same straight line with the ridge, alternating with it. It may therefore have been thought advisable to make the king post very plain, in order to show by contrast the gracefully moulded ridge.

7. Collar, 8×6 . The moulding is very deep and bold, as otherwise it would from its situation hardly be discerned. It is shown in connection with the arched brace mortised to it, at the point where the curve of the brace comes nearest to the collar, and where it is only about two inches deep.

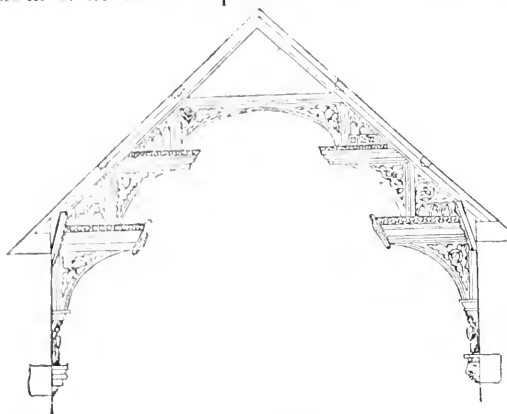
8. Strut, or queen post, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$. This is the springer of the great arched brace, and the front portion of it has therefore the same moulding: the hinder or upright part being moulded plainly like the king post. At about two thirds of its height the front part is cut away to receive the brace, which, it will be observed, is mortised in succession to piece 8, 3, and 7.

9. Purlin, 6 or 7 \times 4 $\frac{1}{2}$. The additional hollow moulding on the under side of this is a continuation of the moulding of the purlin braces.



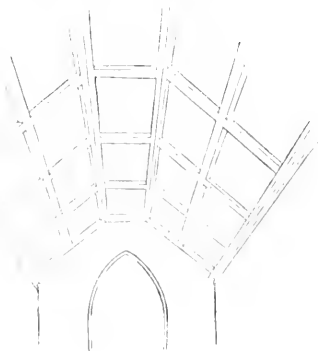
St. Margaret's, Ipswich.—We give a sketch made from memory of one of the trusses in the roof over the nave of this church. It

is very handsome. The plan is that of Woolpit and Rattlesden both of which we hope to introduce. The difference being that



instead of simple braces from the upper tier of hammer beams to the collar, there are upright struts and carved spandrels with open tracery behind the struts as over the lower tier of hammer beams. The mouldings of the upper tier of hammer beams are

carried round their extremities; but this is probably modern as are, of course, the emblazoned shields of tin attached to the extremities of the lower hammer beams. The roof is ceiled over the common rafters, and level with the collars. About a century since it was painted; the flat ceiled spaces being filled with stars, cherubs, and other decorations on a sky-blue ground. Twenty years ago the roof was found to have spread and was condemned. A carpenter of the parish was engaged to make a new one, which was actually made and framed in St. Margaret's Green, when an old carpenter offered for a certain sum to save the roof. He found the ends of the principal rafters decayed, and the walls out some inches. So he bored the hammer beams lengthways, and passed iron rods across the roof through beam and beam, screwing up the extremities. Thus he contracted the walls to what he supposed to be their old position.



The roof over the chancel of this church is modern and very plain, in fact mere skeleton compared with that over the nave. The length is 32 feet, the width 21; in which space are six trusses, *i. e.* five bays each about 5 ft. 6 in. long. The timbers are all uniformly six inches wide, and all project two inches from the plaster. The mouldings

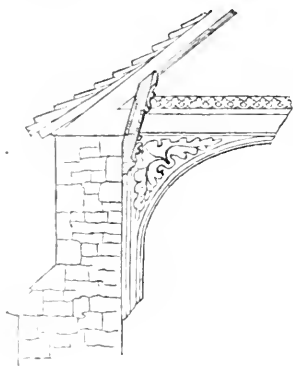
cornice, about a foot high, is the only ornamental feature. The roof might be greatly and cheaply improved by moulding the timbers, putting pateras, either the colour of the wood, or painted, on the intersections, and opening the space above the collars. The side walls are 21 ft. high and 2 ft. 8 in. thick. As there are no braces of any kind in the roof, and it cannot derive much strength from its high collar, it is virtually little more than an arch of timber. The walls, therefore, would not be sufficient abutment, but for the circumstance of there being a vestry on one side and a mausoleum on the other. The rafters are secured to the wall-plate by iron knee straps.

Newton, or Noughton, near Bury.—The roof of this church appears similar to the one just described, with the addition of plain braces.

Tostock, near Bury.—Our view of this elaborate roof is unavoidably postponed to a future Number. We will therefore only give such particulars as are necessary to explain the following remarks on the difference of longitudinal and transverse boarding. There are eight bays in this roof, each 5 feet long, or four double bays, each 11 feet long, corresponding to the four bays in the side walls; formed by five primary trusses similar to those at Weatherden, placed at the buttresses, and four secondary trusses directly over the windows, being only arched braces springing directly from the corbels and meeting in the middle.

The builders of these Suffolk roofs did not attempt the length of bay, i. e. interval between the trusses, that we see in college halls. Most of them were over clerestories, lighted by many small windows, without intervening buttresses. The points of abutment therefore were frequent but weak. The mode of laying the common rafters and boarding (which last is not always found) was such as to require a short bearing in the purlins. The common rafters, as indeed nearly all the timbers, were laid flatways, strength being sacrificed to the object of covering as much space with them as possible; the boards were then laid between the rafters, from ridge to wall plate: there was thus no longitudinal tie in the wood work between the principal rafters, except the *purlins*, on which the whole depended almost as much as if it had been a loose heap of timber. The purlins were therefore usually very short, and short as they were, are found in most cases to have bent considerably under the flat and ponderous common rafters laid upon them. The above mentioned disposition of the boarding is partly to be ascribed to economy of material. In such roofs as we are upon, *longitudinal* boarding would have been only half seen from below; half of it, namely, the part over the rafters, being hidden. It appears there-

fore to have been the general rule to lay the boards in the direction of the rafters, which are grooved or rabbited to receive them and brought near enough for a single board to fill up the interval. But in the instance before us the boarding was longitudinal, for the obvious purpose of assisting the alternate trusses over the windows, and making the interval of 11 feet between the primary trusses, one bay in point of strength. It is probably owing to this disposition of the boarding that the secondary trusses have not spread, and thrust out the wall plate over the windows. In fact this roof has no where given way; while the very similar roof at Rattlesden, where the boarding is not longitudinal but grooved between the rafters, and the alternate trusses are, as in the instance before us, directly over the windows, has spread considerably, so as to require iron bars at three different places to hold it together.



One of the most remarkable features of the Suffolk roofs is the very wide and elaborate cornice to be found in many of them. There is often a necessity for some such expedient, arising from the following circumstances. The backs of the hammer beams and consequently the lower ends of the rafters are always carried very far back; when there are eaves and no parapet they are carried right to the outer face of the wall. This of course leaves a considerable gap between the wall plate, on which the hammer beams rest, and

the inner face of the rafters directly above. Now in old roofs this gap is never filled up with masonry; but it is either left quite open, or it is covered by upright panel work rising from the inner face of the wall to the rafters, and matching with the rafters, as for example, in the roofs of Exeter College Hall, and Old Basing Church, Hants; or, as in many of the Suffolk roofs, it is hidden by a cornice, sometimes, as in the case before us, a yard in width.

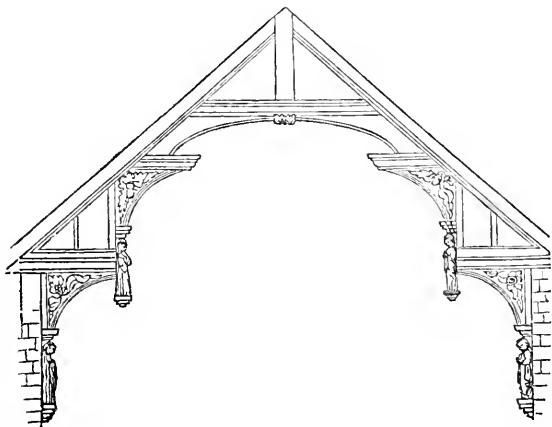


This kind of cornice is too flat and too wanting in projection to be either bold or graceful. Its plan however is curious and worth noting. It would appear to be a corruption of the Grecian entablature, being like it divided into three nearly equal parts, archi-

trave, frieze, and cornice. The architrave and cornice are solid boards, with the ornaments in relief, either carved or nailed upon it. Many of them have disappeared. The frieze is hollow work; i. e. it is made out of two boards, one an inch or two before the other. The foremost is cut quite through, according to the pattern, which is thus shown upon the dark background of the hinder board. This style of cornice was so great a favourite that it was increased to a width much more than necessary to hide the gap above described, and, as in the case before us, brought considerably below the level of the wall plate. Possibly there was a wish to approximate to the proportion between the Grecian entablature and column.

Weatherden.—

This roof is very similar to that of Tostock. The church had originally no aisle, and the nave, which this roof covers, is of the following handsome proportions; 58 ft. by 22 ft., and 24 ft. to the wall plate. A south



aisle was afterwards added. The bays of the roof are only 6 ft. long; and as there are four windows on the north side, the windows and roof do not match. The corbels are level with the tops of the windows on one side and the tops of the arches on the other. The walls are not more than 30 inches thick, flint and stone: it is not surprising therefore that three clumsy modern buttresses have been found necessary on the north side. The only things to be remarked in the timbers of the roof is the slenderness of the common rafters $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3$; and the breadth of the purlins $8 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$.

Rougham, near Bury.—This church, like Tostock and many other churches, belonged for centuries to the abbey of Bury, and probably owed its splendour to that munificent body. The roof is of very remarkable grace and beauty, and would be a very good model. The length is 57 ft. 6 in.; the width 19 ft. 6 in. In this short compass are as many as eleven trusses, i. e. ten bays.



Instead, however, of there being an equal number of small windows on each side, as is usual in clerestories, there are here only four windows on each side; one in every other bay. The bays over the windows are 6 feet long; the

alternate ones over the piers are only 4 feet. This inequality is a decided drawback in the effect. The elaborate cornice, a yard wide, is placed as high as possible, in order to allow the greatest height to the windows; it therefore nearly reaches the first row of purlins. To give room for the beautiful arch made by the collar braces, the collar is placed very high. The angular space above the collar is filled with open tracery, there being no king post. The collar braces are carved, which is not common, and has here a very elegant effect. As there is no upright strut, these braces are continued down to the hammer beams, to the width of 14 inches. We have observed above, that, contrary to the rule of strength, the rafters in these roofs are always laid flatways; but it will be seen that the braces fully compensate for this. Though they are in the present instance only about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, yet, being mortised into the rafter along the whole line of contact, so as to be virtually one piece of timber with it, they give the rafter all the strength of the modern *edgeway* position, besides being an arch, and besides being mortised to the collars and hammer beams. It has occurred to us, that, with a view to saving some timber, and also some labour in cutting mortise holes, it might perhaps be advisable to construct the principal rafter of two oak planks placed edgeways, three inches apart, so as to admit the arched braces *between* them. The principal rafters of these old roofs are so thoroughly hollowed out and perforated through and through with mortise and pin holes, that seen by themselves, to uninitiated eyes, they present any other idea than that of strength; proving of course, all the more, the wonderful ingenuity of that construction by which they stand as strong as ever after the lapse of centuries, at least wherever they have had

tolerably fair play. Another reason for our suggestion is, that the principal rafter, especially if it has been put up green, is apt to crack, and that especially towards its lower end, i. e. towards the root of the tree.

The carved spandrels, it will be noticed, are here small, springing from canopies over figures, surmounting pilasters, which rise from a label moulding. The carving of the whole roof is of unusual excellence; as also, by the way, is that of carved benches in the church, nearly all of which are left. Nothing is wanting in the roof but the heads of the figures. There is no settlement or spreading to be discovered.

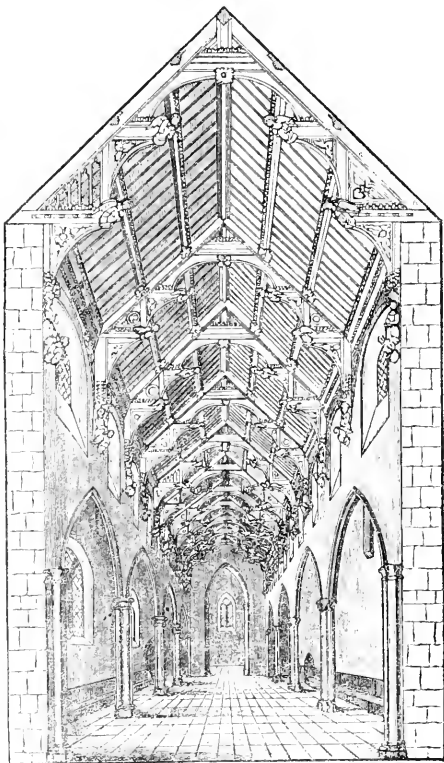
The roof is covered with lead, and has a plain parapet. The clerestory walls are 29 feet to the wall plate, and about a yard thick; flint with stone quoins.

The height of the pilasters from the label moulding to the pedestal of the figure, thence of the canopy, and thence to the hammer beam, is 3 ft. 6 in. + 3 ft. 5 in. + 2 ft. 0 in. = 8 ft. 11 in.

Length of hammer beam, including figure, 5 ft. 3 in. Consequently the clear space between the opposite hammer beams, 9 ft.; spandrels, 3 inches thick; principal rafters, 10×9 ; common rafters, $6 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$; hammer beams, 12×10 ; purlins, $6 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$; collar, 8×6 .

Woolpit, near Bury.—

This church, which from Edward the Confessor to the Reformation belonged to the abbey of Bury, is justly celebrated for its beauty. It has a porch of extraordinary elegance; but the roof which covers its lofty clerestory is its chief ornament. All these three features were probably added late in the 15th century. Our woodcut is from a drawing taken from an imaginary



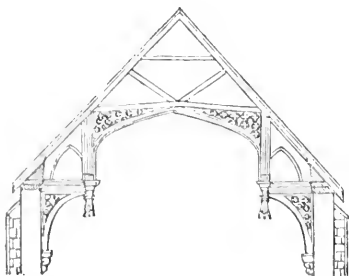
position eastward of the eastern extremity, and designed to combine a sectional plan and a perspective view of the whole eleven trusses of the roof. The length of the purlins also, which is really not quite a third of the breadth, is, for clearness sake, somewhat exaggerated.



Old Guildhall roof, London.

—This hall was originally built in 1411; but being greatly damaged by the fire of 1666 the present edifice, with the exception of the new “Gothic” front, was erected in its place. That well known specimen of modern taste was finished in 1789. The hall is 153 feet long, 48 broad, and 55 in height to the roof,

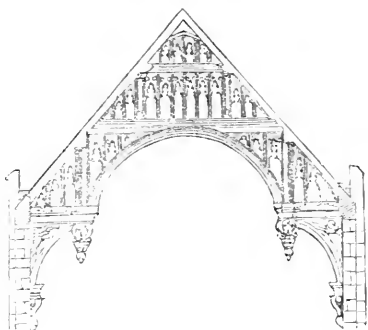
which, in its present state, is ceiled flat, and divided into pannels. As it is some years since we were in this magnificent hall, we do not remember whether the present roof has the appearance of a lath and plaster case over an old one. The roof, of which we give a cut, was most probably erected after 1666. The style is debased, but the effect would still be very grand. As we know nothing of the history of the hall, we can only conjecture that the roof was either destroyed or disguised not long before the above mentioned era of architectural absurdities of 1789. Our engraving, however, dated 1787, is entitled “The Roof formerly standing on Guild Hall.”



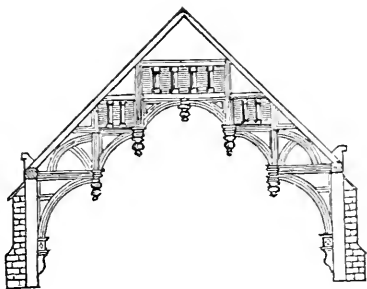
Hall of the Savoy Palace.—

This very simple and elegant roof was probably of the date of Henry VII., by whom the hospital was founded.

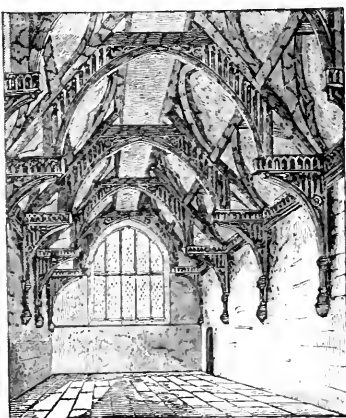
Pinner's Hall, Broad Street, London.—Of this roof we can give no account whatever, except that it occurs in our Book of Specimens, and is a very magnificent design, i. e. *for a hall*. It presents a singular combination of the styles of different eras. The arch is too circular.

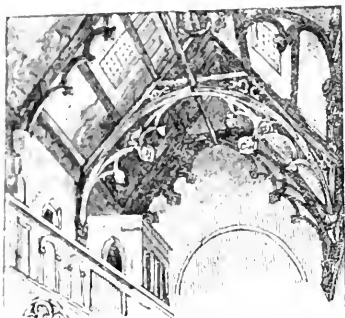


Middle Temple Hall.—This was built in the reign of Elizabeth, and the interior is said to be very handsome. The dimensions are 100 ft. by 44. The effect of this roof may perhaps be stately and even handsome, yet a comparison with Westminster Hall, two centuries older, gives a vast superiority in grandeur, simplicity and elegance of taste to the former period. The chief object of the architect in this instance appears to have been to introduce as many hanging arches and pendants as his compass would allow. Besides the numerous spandrels or braces shown in the transverse section, there are as many passing longitudinally from truss to truss.



From "Skelton's Etchings of the Antiquities of Bristol," we take the liberty of copying two open roofs, viz. that of "The Great Hall of the Mansion House in Small Street," and that of "Canynge's Chapel, or Masonic Hall, Radcliffe Street." The former of these appears very simple and grand. The solid spandrels and braces carved with mullions in relief, and the absence of all Italian details, mark a much earlier date than our college halls. The latter of these two roofs, is singularly light and





perfect portions of the front truss which just come into our wood-cut are not less unintelligible here than in the original very beautiful engraving.



appears certain that the hall was built between 1462 and 1471. The extensive quadrangular building to which it belonged has been destroyed or modernized; but the hall itself has been recently cleared of the modern apartments by which it was choked, and completely restored with the greatest taste and judgment under the direction of Mr. Fisher, clerk of the works to the cathedral. It is now the chief show-room of a china warehouse, and is not a little set off by its gay and glittering contents. We are indebted to Mr. P. Hall's "*Picturesque Memorials of Salisbury*" for this view.

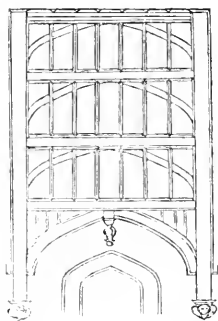
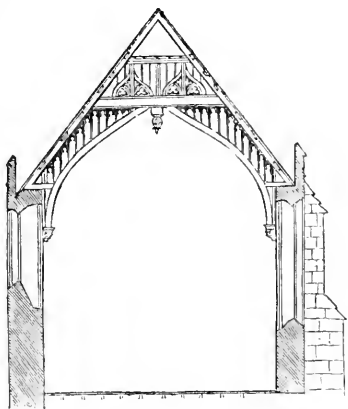
In the new Roman Catholic of "St. Marie's," Southport, Mr. Pugin seems to have adopted a somewhat similar construction of roof, i. e. braces springing from the feet of the rafters and meeting under the centre of the collar, with the addition of king post and struts above the collar. In the nave also, or centre aisle of his design for the new Roman Catholic Chapel in St. George's Fields, it again occurs, with a span of 30 feet, but a considerable abutment derived from the roofs of the side aisles. These last are

beautiful. The arched braces, without any sacrifice of strength, are worked to a pattern of exquisite grace. This has all the appearance of having been a sacred building, and would be a very good model for imitation. If, by the way, cast iron is ever to be used, something of this sort would suit best that convenient material. In self-defence we are bound to say that the im-

The Hall of John Halle, Canal, Salisbury.—This very interesting building is remarkable as being, like Crosby Hall, the refectory of a wealthy citizen. It was built by one John Halle, who seems to have been the leading man of his day at Salisbury. From numerous armorial bearings and curious devices in the windows it ap-

open roofs, with king posts and tie beams rather disguised and rendered palatable by open spandrels and braces.

Hall of Exeter College, Oxford.—This was built about two centuries since by Sir John Acland, Knt. Some few years since it was repaired and embellished at a considerable expense from the designs of Mr. Nash, under the superintendence of Mr. Repton. The roof, of which we give a transverse section, and the elevation of one bay, is remarkably handsome, chiefly owing to the height of the collar, the uninterruptedness of the arch, and the light effect of the numerous wooden mullions. It is also very thoroughly lighted. A comparison between this roof and that of All Souls Chapel, which happens to have exactly the same span, may suggest some distinctions between the styles respectively adapted to sacred and common purposes. The pitch of the roof before us is unusually lofty; so that the wooden ceiling of quatre-foiled panels level with the upper collars is perhaps in this case an improvement. In our Book of Specimens, A.D. 1787, a truss of this roof is engraved, in which the



roof is open to the ridge, and there are only five mullions over each rib of the arch, with cinque-foiled spaces between them, instead of the eleven trefoiled spaces there now are. The device also between the two collars is there the most tasteless kind of Italian; and externally there is no battlement. We know not whether these discrepancies are errors in the old engraving, or whether Mr. Nash thus materially altered and improved the design. In the present state of the roof, however, the part between the upper and lower collar is still ungraceful and out of keeping. It will be observed there are four tiers of braces in each bay, one against the face of the wall, and three behind the common rafters. The lower ones are not concentric with the arch of the window, but much more curved. The next above spring directly from the cornice;

the two tiers above spring each at the height of about two feet from the purlins. These differences are important to the effect, as obviating monotony, and are not distinctly expressed in our cut.

The span is 27 ft. 3 in. Each bay, including the thickness of the principal rafters, 12 ft. 1 in. Height from floor to cornice about 25 feet. The hall is raised a low story from the ground. The wall on the side towards the quadrangle is about 3 feet thick, with buttresses between the windows, which are large and of course perpendicular, with very flat arches. The points over the windows are therefore weak, and the cornice braces are not superfluous. The wall towards the street is about 4 feet thick, without buttresses.

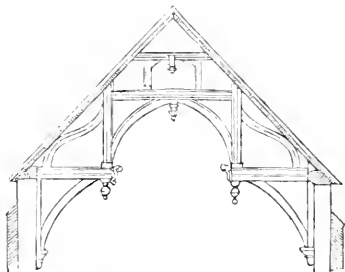


Hall of Wadham College, Oxford. — From Le Keux's masterly engraving of this hall in Ingram's Memorials we have ventured a humble copy of the roof. From the same work we select the following notices. The whole fabric of this college was completed A.D. 1613. The architect is concluded to have been Thomas Holt of York; from whose designs also, executed either by the

Bentleys or John Acroide, arose soon after, not only the public schools, but the new buildings at Merton, Oriel, Jesus, University, Exeter, &c. Considerable improvements have been recently introduced into this hall, particularly during the wardenship of the late Dr. Tournay. The fine oak screen and timber roof have been restored, so that the whole structure is one of the most handsome and appropriate specimens of collegiate refectories to be found in either university. It is 82 feet in length, 35 feet in breadth, and 37 feet in height. In our "Book of Specimens" this roof is shown ceiled at the lower, that is, the chief collar which would of course much diminish the height and beauty of the roof. It need scarcely be added, that admirable as this roof is in its place and purpose, it is wholly unsuitable for a church.

Hall of University College, Oxford. — This hall was completed about 1657. The original roof was framed with open timber work, like the other halls built about the same time and designed by the same architects, with a louvre in the centre. The interior was entirely refitted in 1766 at a considerable ex

pense, when the windows on the south side were walled up. From our "Specimens of Ancient Framed Roofs" we are enabled to give the plan of the original roof, which would present much the same appearance as that of Wadham Hall. It is evident that the length of the hammer beams has been inadvertently exaggerated in the engraving.



It will be observed that the new roof, or rather ceiling, was constructed by surrounding the modern spandrels and hammer beams with fan tracery, allowing just the extremities of the latter to peep out above; carrying along those extremities a straight cornice the whole length of the hall; and then constructing an elliptical vault,



relieved by parallel ribs springing from the above cornice, just inside the arched braces connecting the collar and queen posts. It is superfluous to say, that, though fan tracery and ribbed vaulting have a degree of prettiness everywhere, and would, even if they were constructed topsy-turvy, or in any other imaginable position, yet nothing but the worst possible taste could have conceived the transmutation we have described.

In the first place the roof in its present state is an architectural monster. A roof, as well as any other fabric, ought to be either fact, or poetry. If it be fact, of course it explains itself; if it be poetry, it should still seem to do so; that is, it should still be a consistent theory. It is best of course where it is both. The original roof was fact, i. e. its real construction was manifest, and it had some degree of poetry suited to the purpose of the building. Ribbed vaulting is also fact, and has a still higher degree of poetry suitable to its usual sacred purpose. Perhaps such vaulting as that of Henry VII.'s Chapel is poetry carried to an extreme, too much overlaying and disguising fact. Yet in point of *apparent* construction, what can be more absurd than the modern roof in the instance before us? A series of fans of ribbed tracery support a perfectly flat surface, five or six feet wide, along each side of the roof. If these portions of vaulting are stone (and they cannot be *supposed* to be anything else) why do they terminate? Why do they not go on till they meet some corresponding vaulting

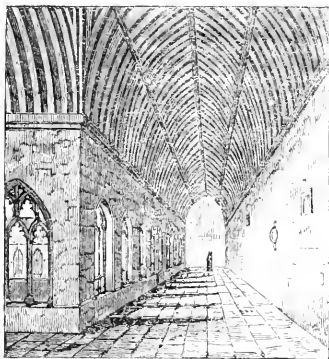
springing from the other side? Again, if they are stone, what is the flat portion of the ceiling? It cannot be supposed to be large flat stone, as that crushes at once the idea of the vaulting immediately under them. From the edge of this flat surface, from a mere hanging cornice, which is of course substantially wood, but cannot be supposed poetically to be either wood or stone, springs an elegant elliptical vault of ribbed tracery, which must be supposed to be stone. The roof is a jumble of incongruities, like a piece of bad grammar, or bad logic, or oratorical bombast.

Again, supposing that a stone vault, or an appearance of one, of intelligible construction, and consistent with itself, had been substituted for the old wooden roof, still it would have been utterly out of keeping with the whole idea of a refectory. Both in taste and piety there is absolute discordance and contradiction between fan-tracery and eating and drinking. A common use of such sacred ornaments has at least a certain ideal resemblance to Belshazzar's profaneness, and reminds one also of some of the impieties which characterized the outrages three centuries since, when we are told there was scarce anybody pretending to be a gentleman in the land, whose house was not half furnished with woodwork, tapestry, marble, vessels of gold and silver, the spoils of churches and altars. Use has attached certain associations to the more elaborate and fanciful kinds of stone vaulting: these associations are dimmed and dislocated by an application of these ornaments contrary to use. Hence it is that most of the modern "Gothic" mansions, such for example as that huge mass of earthly pomp and pride, Eaton Hall, near Chester, have the effect of travestie, burlesque, and maccaronic styles: they play and trifle with sacred ideas, and strip them of their poetry and reverence. Further, as to the college hall in question, apart from the consideration of use, is there not a sort of absurdity in the thing itself, dining and enjoying oneself under a cold stone vaulting? We cannot admit that the very small quantity of groining admitted into the bay windows of ancient halls, and in a manner part of the window tracery, justifies the introduction of that beautiful feature into the body of the hall itself.

This is not the only point in which the architecture of this hall has suffered. By a most extraordinary consistency in error, there has been an attempt to substitute sacred for domestic features throughout the whole fabric, so that it may now be pronounced unquestionably the most decided and elaborate piece of bad taste in Oxford. Previous to the alterations in 1766, the floor was boarded: the present floor is of Swedish and Danish marble, that is, like the floor of a church. The handsome *fireplace*, we are further informed, the gift of Sir Roger Newdigate, is said to have

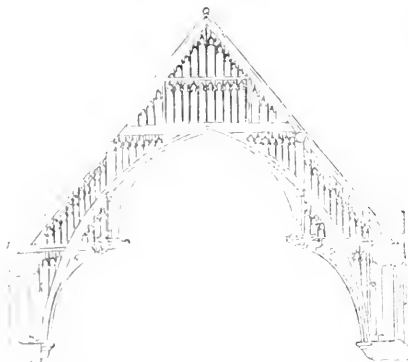
been copied from a *monument* in Ely Cathedral. This reminds us of what we once saw at Reading; where, in an ancient house of the sixteenth century, is a fireplace patched up out of some beautiful stone wall, to all appearance the remains of an actual monument, most probably the plunder of the famous abbey, which, we are told, was for generations the town quarry. Again, the wainscot, which probably once stood behind the high table, has been replaced by the *stall-work proper to choirs*. Only think of dining under canopies, crockets and finials! A screen of handsome stall-work stands before the recess at the head of the high table, through which the servants pass to and fro to the side-board. Lastly, the present exterior of the hall must have struck any one at all conversant with architectural proprieties. Between windows of the seventeenth century are run up buttresses and pinnacles of the fifteenth, with battlements also of the latter date, and some other similar anomalies. In the original design, however, as may be seen in Loggan's view, the ogee battlement of the sides was carried along the hall and chapel; and the space below the windows presented only a blank wall, resembling that in Oriel and Wadham colleges; while the centre was adorned, according to the fashion of the day, with Doric pilasters, &c. The present front was substituted in the year 1800. This, we should think, was also the date of the spurious Gothic vaulting in the hall, as our engraving of the old roof is dated 1787, that is, twenty-one years after the first refitting of the hall in 1766. The vaulting has also all the look of 1800.

New College Cloisters.—This example of the wooden ribbed arch was built soon after the completion of the rest of the college in 1386. The cloisters at Winchester College, of about the same date, are similar, but on a smaller scale. An account of the construction of the latter will probably do for both. The roof, though chiefly to be considered an arch, contains also the principle of a truss or frame. A short piece, corresponding to the hammer beam of our roofs, is



laid across the wall, from the outer to the inner face. From its outer extremity rises the rafter, and from its inner the rib. The rafters are joined by a collar, about thirty inches below the ridge; and the ribs, after touching the rafters, meet in the centre of the collar. As the pieces are all joined at the places of contact, the arched rib not only supports, but also stiffens and braces

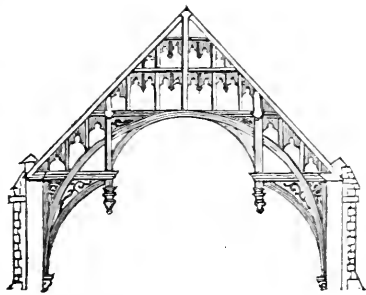
the rafters and collar. An exposure to all the fluctuations of our atmosphere for four centuries and a half, is a severe trial to timber of any kind, but these roofs are still standing. It has however for some reason been found necessary to tie the roof at Winchester with iron rods, every 20 feet, though the span is only 11 ft. 2 in. The original arched timber roof of the magnificent hall at New College, finished thirteen years before Westminster Hall, would be an object of great interest. But towards the end of last century, a flat ceiling was substituted.



Westminster Hall.—This wonderful hall was finished by Richard II., and made the scene of extraordinary festivities, Christmas, 1398. That unfortunate monarch was deposed by the first parliament that sat in it, the following September. Its internal dimensions are 238 ft. 8 in. by 66 ft. 6 in.; taking its breadth in the middle, as the south end is wider than the north: the

height 90 feet. Nothing can surpass the beauty and grandeur of design in this roof; and as for the skill of its construction, it is enough to say that it has stood four centuries and a half over a clear space of near 70 feet, without requiring any very considerable repair. It was looked over before the coronation of George IV., and we are told that forty loads of well seasoned oak, obtained from broken ships, were employed in renewing the decayed parts, and in perfecting the whole. Many supplementary spars have been added, and iron bolts inserted; and some time last century new pilasters were run up from the ground to the corbels; but so little is this style of roof part of a modern architect's science and experience, that it is impossible to say whether what has lately been done is not wholly superfluous or even injurious. The manifest defects of this hall are that it appears *all roof*, and is very dark. The side walls are only about 40 feet high, and the corbels from which the springers of the roof rise are only about 20 feet. The roof therefore occupies seven-ninths of the whole height. In fact it looks like a vast tent, coming almost to the ground. The present darkness is partly to be attributed to the closing of many of the windows by the courts and other adjacent buildings; but if they were all open, they could not possibly shoot a sufficiency of light up that vast valley containing a forest of wood work.

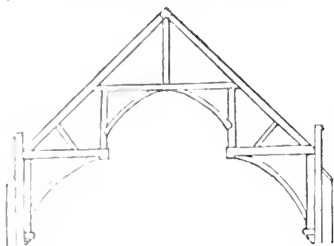
Hall at Lambeth Palace.—This hall was rebuilt at the cost of 10,500*l.* by Archbishop Juxon, 1660—1663, in place of the former one built on the same site by Chichele, and demolished by Colonel Scott, one of the murderers of Charles I., to whose lot this palace fell in the division of the prey. Juxon ordered it to be built as much as possible



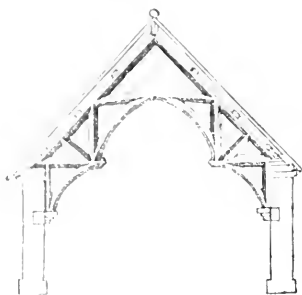
like the old one, against the wishes and advice of others, who advocated a more modern style of building. On his death, after occupying the see only three years, he left directions for its completion according to his plan, provided his successor should consent. This is a very noble hall, 93 feet long, by 38 feet wide, and 50 high. The roof is undoubtedly a very grand one, but has great defects. The style is as mixed and corrupt as anything in that age. The open parts of the roof are all filled with Gothic tracery, while the great transverse arch is circular, and the ornament and pendant at the extremity of each hammer beam is a complete Grecian entablature finished by a ball below, where the capital of the imaginary pillar would be. This is as great an anomaly as the entablature surmounting the external buttresses. The plan of the roof is evidently taken from that king of roofs on the opposite side of the river, but it only adds to the defects of that structure. The collar is brought down considerably lower than in Westminster, thereby increasing the depth and apparent quantity of wood work.

Juxon was doubtless animated by a laudable desire to keep up the dignity of the see, and perhaps to prepare his palace for a revival of ancient manners, if the progress of human affairs should ever bring it about. Even in his time it was probably thought a hopeless attempt. The hall was rebuilt, but ancient hospitality is for ever fled. England will never again see the lord and his servants and retainers, down to his scullions and stable-boys, and "eight or ten of the poor of the town by turn," all sitting down to one meal, sanctified by one blessing. Such a union of ranks is only to be found in churches, and even there it bids fair to be soon obsolete. Some dread necessity, not to be wished for, or even thought of without horror, yet with its good as well as its evils, may some day drive rich and poor more into one another's society, and make them feel and pay their mutual debt. The hall has been a comparatively useless room ever since it was built, except for two months in 1780, when, in consequence of the disturbed state of the metropolis, two or three hundred

soldiers, with their wives and families, were quartered in the palace, during in the Great Hall, and attending divine service twice a day. About ten years since it was converted into the archiepiscopal library, under the directions of Mr. Blore.



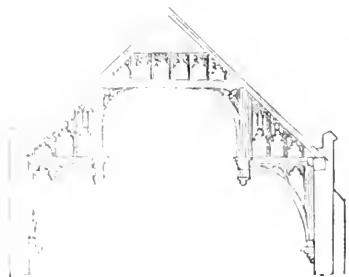
Westminster School. — We give this roof as being the plainest and the most self-explanatory in our book of specimens.



Old Barn, Clenston, Dorset. — This must be a very magnificent structure of its class. From the scale accompanying the drawing, with which we have been furnished by the kindness of Mr. Walker of Shaftesbury, it appears the span is about 33 feet; the height to the ridge is about the same, and the height of the wall, *i. e.* to the upper surface of the wall plate, about $14\frac{1}{2}$. The wall 3 ft. 6 in. thick, as it had need be.



We have to thank this gentleman also for the drawing of a roof lately erected over a new Roman Catholic chapel at Poole. The span is 18 feet; the meeting of the curved ribs is 12 ft. above the line of the corbels. The walls 2 ft. 4 in. thick. The ribs are oak, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick; the rest of the roof deal.

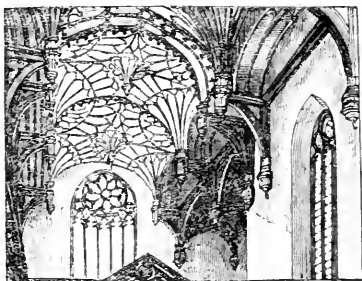


Hall of Oriel College. — This very neat and graceful roof was built "*Regnante Carolo*," between 1637 and 1642. The chief peculiarity is the reduced size and sharp curve of the braces connecting the queen posts and collar. The buttresses shown in our cut and copied from the Book of Specimens, are an error. It is important to notice this, as re-

gards the questions of style and strength.

Chapel of Brasenose College.

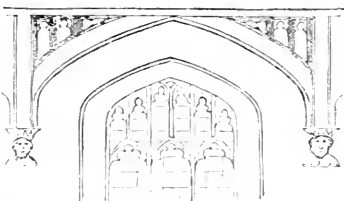
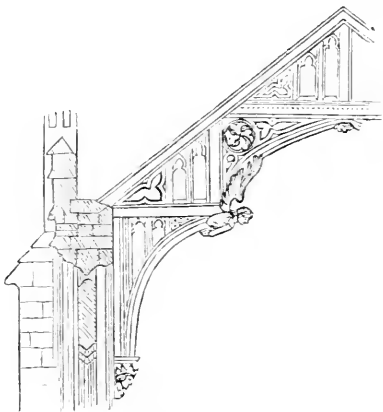
—The foundation stone of this chapel was laid 1656, and it was consecrated 1666. The roof in its present form (we know nothing of its history) is a composition from the vaultings of Christ Church choir, and of Henry VII.'s chapel. Those surprising fabrics, especially the former, as we have



said above, exhibit a sort of reaction from the timber frame to the stone vault; and now the forms of that mixed style are in turn transferred to wood. This roof is very curious and elegant, but contains too great a confusion of the *ideas* of wood and stone. There is no sort of agreement either in outline or in details between the centre portion and the side spandrels on which it is supported. It will be observed that at the intersection of the chapel and the ante-chapel a whole cluster of spandrels is suspended in the air with no apparent or even imaginary support.

Chapel of All Souls' College,

Oxford—This chapel was consecrated 1442, a year before the death of its munificent founder. The beautiful roof is very like those of Suffolk, though perhaps a few years earlier. It is flatter than they are generally, and with much longer bays or intervals between the trusses. The strong braces or spandrels therefore supporting the cornice, and concentric with the arch of the windows, are not more ornamental than necessary to strengthen the weak point over the window. The name of R. Tylock is preserved as the carver in wood, employed by Chichele, but we know not whether the splendid gilt angels in the roof are the original ones of his workmanship.



After the Restoration, about the year 1664, Robert Streater, serjeant painter to Charles II., is said to have been em-

ployed in restoring and ornamenting the chapel. Among the innovations then introduced, the centre of the roof was made flat, level with the collar, and covered with painted canvas in square panels. But the interior, as we now see it, was probably fitted up early in the last century. The "clear obscure" painting of the windows, the sombre hues which prevail every where, and especially the dark dead green colouring of the roof,—all this relieved by an abundance of gilding and marble, imparts a peculiar richness of gloom to the chapel, which no one can regret, however foreign to the taste and intention of the original designer. The roof however is sacrificed to this effect, its form and mouldings being rendered scarcely discernible. The span is 27. 3: the length of each bay, including the principal rafters, 14: the wall is about 35 feet high inside, and 3 thick, strengthened by deep buttresses: the corbels are 25 feet from the floor.



St. Mary Magdalene Church, Oxford.—The roof over the nave of this church was probably erected between 1511 and 1531, when considerable repairs and alterations were made, as appears from the parish accounts. It would be a very good model, and we should think a cheap one.



We take this opportunity of introducing one of Mr. Pugin's magnificent interiors, viz. that of the Roman Catholic chapel at Derby, of which we gave an exterior elevation in our last October number. This engraving should properly have come there, but was not completed in time. As the construction of the roof is nothing out of the way, it can have no place here but to illustrate the difference between it and more curious and artificial fabrics. The drawing will explain itself; we need therefore only add, that the interior ele-

vation of the nave, from the floor to the ridge, is 52 feet; the chancel 40 feet; and the pillars 20 feet: the width of the nave within the pillars about 20 feet. The clerestory contains twenty windows arranged in pairs, ten on each side, the light of each window divided by mullions, two mullions below the tracery in the middle, and two above. The pilasters which support the springers of the roof rise from corbels of stone carved into angels bearing shields, displaying the various emblems of the Passion. The corbels, and indeed all the carvings, are said to be executed in a most masterly style by an artist who has been long familiar with and laboured in our cathedrals and old churches, the sacred architect and sculptor's best and only school.

It would be revenging ourselves to our own most serious cost, if we refused to appreciate and profit by the splendid ideas which Mr. Pugin's wealthy and zealous employers enable him to realize—ideas which he has himself derived from a careful and revealing contemplation of our ecclesiastical structures. We cannot indeed for a moment forget the misfortune that the direct results of this gentleman's labours and talents are lost to the English Church, nor can we think, without grief, of the many fair piles rising up around us, the shrines of a hostile communion. We scarcely know whether we can push our charity as far as the learned editor of the "*Memorials of Oxford*," and "*rejoice to see such signs of good taste spreading among all classes of society, of whatever religious denomination*," still we think it both fair and wise to get all the benefit we can from every party, and recommend to imitation any good thing in them which is not inseparably mixed with their error.

We cannot call to mind any precedent exactly applying to the roof. Its pitch is neither high nor low. It is much higher than the pitch of the flat roofs with tie beams, brackets, and tracery, almost universal towards the end of the 15th century, and is even lower than the usual pitch of those roofs which are the subject of our article. Externally this becomes a serious objection, as the roof has a common domestic look. Probably it is the pitch which best suits slate, and is therefore convenient. It is possible also that its use in sacred buildings may at last remove this look of commonness; but we are speaking of the actual present effect. Inside, the frame appears too large and triangular, reducing to a disproportionate smallness the brackets or springers.

While on the question of the proper pitch of roofs, we may as well observe, that, as a matter of fact, in whatever way we choose to account for it, all pitches between the high and the low are disagreeable to the eye. The king post, or the perpendicular height of the ridge above the tie beam, should bear to the tie beam

a less proportion than about 3 to 8, in which case it is a low roof, or a greater proportion than 1 to 2, in which case it is a high roof. These two proportions are just bearable; the intermediate ones are not. The best high pitches are from the equilateral roofs of the early English style to the three-quarters pitch of a later age, in which the rafter is three quarters of the beam. In Westminster Hall the rafters are rather more than four-fifths of the span. Many roofs have been reduced to a lower pitch in consequence of the feet of the rafters decaying, and it being found therefore necessary to shorten them. A rectangular roof, as we have said, is just bearable. No pitch below this looks well till we come to the low pitch, which may be as low as you please. Now this happens to be an inherent defect in the ancient Suffolk roofs and other open church roofs of the class upon which we are writing. The construction and the interior effect of the frame-work will not allow of a decidedly *low* pitch; on the other hand, a high pitch, if high enough to be externally agreeable to the eye, makes the valley of the roof inside too deep and too dark, an evil which can only be remedied by one still greater, viz. by ceiling off a portion of that valley. Hence it is, that the pitch of these Suffolk roofs is seldom high enough for external effect, and a practised eye can discover at a distance, from this peculiarity of pitch, whether he is to expect one of these singularly beautiful frame-works within.



Donhead, St. Andrew, Wilts.

—The chancel of this church has been in great measure rebuilt, and covered with a very neat, and, we hear, a very costly open oak roof. If rectors would all do as much for their chancels, the rest of the church would follow before long, and we should see the whole structure more worthy of its sacred purpose, not to speak of what “the wealth of the establishment” requires of Church people in the eyes of the world. We give a view, looking east, for which we are indebted to some

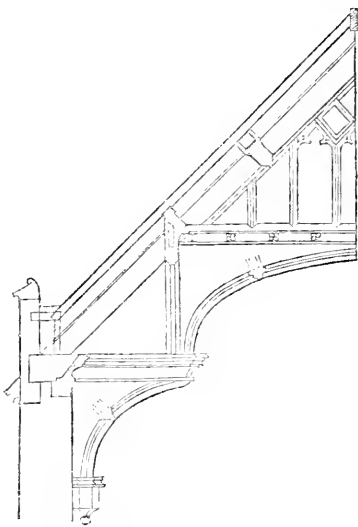
very youthful lady artists; and a section showing the arch dividing the chancel from the nave. Perhaps there has been too much attempt to accommodate the curves of the roof to the existing

features of the building. The arched braces or ribs are very properly made concentric with the arch of the east window; but with all due deference to the well-known taste of the designer, we think it was not advisable to match the spandrels in like manner to the archway shown in our section. One result of this arrangement is, that the hammer beams do not, perhaps, project enough, and the corbels are too low down.



The span is 17 feet; height to wall plate, i. e. under the hammer beams, 14 feet; projection of hammer beams about 2 ft. 9 in.; thickness of walls 2 ft. 6 in.; height of corbels from the floor, about 7 feet; height of spandrel about 5 ft. 9 in.; height to ridge about 24 ft. 6 in.

A very handsome open roof has just been erected over a lofty saloon at Baynard's Court, the residence of Mr. Thurlow, from the designs of Mr. B. Ferrey, who has superintended several works of this kind. The proportions, 22 feet span, and 50 feet from the floor to the ridge, make one wish it were the roof of a church, or of some public hall, rather than a private room. The spandrels and the braces connecting the queen posts and collar are filled up with plain boarding to a somewhat less thickness than the moulding. Does not this prevent the mouldings from seeming to be cut out of the solid? From the sections of the timbers it appears they are laid more edgeways, i. e. the way strength requires, than in the old roofs. It may be in a great measure prejudice, but we think the eye requires more *breadth* in the timbers. Iron also appears to be plentifully substituted for the ancient mortise and tenon.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Dr. Mill has published his "Christian Advocate's" publication for 1840 (Rivingtons), for which we have been some time looking with great interest. It is the first part of a profound reply to the Pantheistic Principles of Strauss.

To Dr. Wall's very interesting volume (2nd) on "The Ancient Orthography of the Jews," (Whittaker), we cannot do more in so brief a notice as this than direct the reader's attention. As his former volume was intended to establish the miraculous origin of alphabetic writing, so this illustrates the value of the gift by showing the low state in which learning must have remained, had mankind been confined to the use of such means of writing as they have invented for themselves. A third volume is to follow, principally on the subject of China.

The subject alone is sufficient to make "Egyptian History deduced from Monuments still in existence," (Fraser), deeply interesting. The first part, which is all that we have seen, extends from Menes to Osirtesen. We are glad to see that it observes that reverence for Scripture history which is often wanting in such investigations.

Mr. Girdlestone's "Commentary on the Old Testament," Part V., on Job and the Psalms, (Rivingtons), is written with a careful attention to the details of moral duty, which is particularly seasonable in this day, and which, we may trust, cannot fail of a beneficial result.

"The Book of Illustrations," by the Rev. H. Salter, (Hatchards) is condemned by its very length, which runs to 532 closely printed octavo pages. Illustrations should be written in a terse and pithy style; so large a book therefore must either have a great many indeed, or they must be spun out. Again, it is condemned by its being original and selected, for illustrations are not likely to be expressed vigorously unless thrown off by the author. Mr. S. seems too to belong to a bad school in religion; yet we cannot help feeling kindly towards him for his advocating the *principle*, which is most philosophical and true, that teaching should proceed by means of visible things, or that religion is mystical.

Dr. D'Oyly has, in his second edition of "Sancroft's Life" (J. W. Parker), added some extracts from the Archbishop's letters, the three sermons which he published himself, and the celebrated treatise called "Modern Policies," attributed to him.

Mr. Pope, in his "Roman Misquotation," (Holdsworth), shows that the Roman work called "The Faith of Catholics," used by Dr. Poynter, the Bishop of Strasburgh, &c. is not at all to be depended on in certain of its extracts and translations of the early Fathers.

We observe that "Geraldine" has got to the third edition, and really do not know how to be sorry for it. It contains incomparably more truth than error, and is far more powerful against the Protestantism of the day than in behalf of Rome. Some few converts it may make to its own creed; but *on the whole* we doubt not its circulation will work beneficially for our Church; and even as regards its converts, we have always to inquire *what* they were before conversion. The chance is that they will be found in the judgment of the sober Anglican to have gained by it. We are no palliators of superstition, but England is not in so orthodox a state, that Romanism is the worst of heresies.

Two new Tracts have appeared in the series called the Tracts for the Times, No. 89, "On the Mysticism attributed to the early Fathers of the Church;" and No. 90, "Remarks on certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles." The latter is creating a great sensation.

Mr. Bickersteth "*completes* a series of theological works begun in 1815," with "a Treatise on *Baptism*" (Seeley). This looks like "*labor actus in orbem*," and perhaps indicates the beginning of a new and improved cycle. The spirit which dictated the following words is progressive: "Let us be led by these considerations to a more full and entire confidence in the Lord, and a more diligent, believing, and practical observance of every direction of our God, though at the time we may little discern its full meaning and importance."

"The Case stated," with reference to the late meeting of the subscribers to the Curates' Fund at Leeds, is a little tract, published at Leeds, in defence of the vicar of that parish, who it seems had been attacked by Mr. William Sinclair and another clergyman of the parish of Leeds, and Mr. Atkinson, a solicitor, for some observations he had made on the Pastoral Aid Society. It is noticed here for two reasons, to express our satisfaction at finding that church principles "have progressed" in Leeds, and that with the progress of church principles, there has been a progress of church *temper*. The assailants of the vicar of Leeds seem to have displayed some asperity of temper, and to have indulged not in hard arguments, but in hard words, from which the writer of this pamphlet has carefully abstained. As to Dr. Hook's speech itself, if we may judge from the report of it given in the Leeds Intelligencer for Feb. 6, a more impressive and beautiful one never was delivered at any meeting.

We are glad to find that Dr. Biber disclaims the views which we gathered in our last number from his late work, "The Standard of Catholicity." We understand that some remarks will be appended by the author to our present, by way of explanation.

Mr. Clay's "Explanatory Notes on the Prayer Book Version of the Psalms" (Parker, London) are carefully done, but prolix. It has however often occurred to us, that an edition of the Psalms on this plan, but with no more than two or three lines of argument and explanation to each Psalm, is a desideratum.

Mr. Painter is carrying on the very seasonable reprints called "Traets of the Anglican Fathers," which had come to an end, with a new editor and against the wishes of the old.

"Twelve Sermons on the Faith and Practice of a Christian," by C. Gregory, B. A. (Rivingtons), will be found earnest exhortations to general obedience and holiness.

The Dean of Chichester has published a sermon on "the Decoration of Churches" (Parker). Mr. Alexander Watson, a farewell sermon, preached at St. Andrew's, Ancoats (Burns). Mr. Stafford, a sermon on "The Offertory," a subject to which we are glad to observe a growing attention (Rivingtons). Mr. Frere, a sermon on the "Ember Weeks," preceded by a discourse upon "Fasting" (Rivingtons). We had intended before this to have called attention to an excellent Sermon of Mr. Nelson's, lately published.

We recommend Mr. Dodsworth's three excellent "Discourses on the Holy Communion" (Burns).

Mr. Fryer's Sermons (Cadell) is a volume of excellent principles, somewhat wanting in definiteness.

"Sermons by the Rev. W. H. Tucker," (Fellowes), contains a good deal of thought not always adequately enucleated.

We are glad to observe that "Fuller's Characters," taken out of the "Holy State," have been published (Burns) in a small volume.

Bishop Jeremy Taylor's "Practical Works," (Ball and Arnold), comprise all his Sermons and the "Holy Living and Holy Dying" in one volume and in a very clear type.

We are not particularly fond of Bishop Burnet, but his "Pastoral Care," (Washbourne), has always been reckoned useful, and Mr. Dale has put an excellent preface to it, which it will do most people good to read.

"Felix de Lisle," (Seeley and Burnside), is the history of the conversion of an Englishman, bred-up abroad without baptism, from heathenism to Christianity. He grows up, his mind expands; his father, who is an unbeliever, dies with sudden assurance of salvation; he finds Deists all ignorance, Roman Catholics all form and mystery, Jews all cheating, and High Churchmen all morality. He studies the Bible and Prayer-Book; thinks no sect conducts worship so admirably as the Church of England, yet baptizes himself, from not being clear what communion it is best to enter. Then he falls into a consumption, receives a mor-

regular baptism from the clergyman of the parish, and dies with an assurance which he felt before receiving it.

Dr. Molesworth has published an excellent Letter to the Bishop of Chester, on the "Pastoral Aid Society" (Rivingtons).

Mr. Burns has published a series of books for children, with woodcuts, which will be found very suitable for school prizes.

Mr. Soames's edition of "Dr. Murdock's Translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History," 4 vols. (Longman), must any how be a great improvement on a translation like Maclaine's.

"Baptismal Regeneration" (Burns) is a tract on that subject, written in a very serious and practical spirit, and adapted to help persons in their difficulties.

We would not pronounce anything magisterially in so sacred a matter as grief, and we know how wonderfully all things are transmuted to good by the recipient mind; but we will only say with respect to "The Christian Mourner," (Seeley and Burnside), that if a volume of 350 closely printed pages is found to assuage sorrow, it is the first time that such a host of words did anything else for the unfortunates upon whom they fell but inflict a desperate headache.

"Aids to Devotion," (Dalton), is a selection of texts and hymns arranged under heads; the plan is simple and good; the selection somewhat objectionable.

"Tendrils Cherished, or Home Sketches," (Houlston), is a tale for the young, drawn, apparently, after life. It has considerable merit, and will be useful, in spite of its title being somewhat sentimental, and of the little girls who are its subjects inventing and writing down "Aphorisms," p. 37, at the end of every day.

"The Temperance Emigrants, a Drama, by John Dunlop, Esq." (Houlston and Stoneman), is a vulgar, outrageous story conveyed in vigorous and striking dialogue.

"Ecclesia" is a volume of poems by the Rev. R. S. Hawker (Rivingtons), marked by good feeling, elegance and grace, with some want of severity and awe, considering the subject treated of.

"Sketches of Country Life and Country Matters," by One of the Old School, (Rivingtons), is a little work of excellent principles written in a pleasing style.

The Baron Geramb's "Journey from La Trappe to Rome," (Dolman), is a lively, interesting, and (making allowances for his creed) instructive narrative.

We think it right, in justice to Dr. Burney, and for the satisfaction of our musical readers, to correct an error in the article on Chanting, in a late Number. It was there stated that Dr. Burney could trace no difference between the

Amorosan and Gregorian chants. This is correct; but in the errata at the end of the second volume he corrects his error, and says that Padre Martini informed him it was "in the finals." "The principal difference (he says) which I can discover in these finals, from those of the Gregorian chant, is the frequent use of the favourite Greek interval, the fourth, with which, descending from the octave of the key of C or D to the fifth, almost every close is made."

At a general meeting of the Board of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge on the 9th of February the following Report from the Foreign Translation Committee was laid before the Meeting:—

"The Foreign Translation Committee beg to state to the Board that they have had a report made to them by the Secretary, the Rev. G. Tomlinson, of the journey which he made to the Levant, in the autumn of last year, at their request.

"In the Report which the Committee made to the Board in July last, they stated that they had received some communications respecting the Translation both of the Holy Scriptures and of Books and Tracts for use in the Levant; but that they had found it difficult to obtain such information upon these subjects as might enable them to come to a satisfactory conclusion respecting the course which ought to be pursued. They agreed, therefore, with the approbation of his Grace the President, and with the concurrence of the Standing Committee, to request the Secretary to go out to the Levant to make inquiries personally in the different localities, and to ascertain, as far as possible, the opinions and views of the authorities of the Oriental Churches and communities respecting these matters.

"The Committee had afterwards the satisfaction to learn that his Grace the President, and the Lord Bishop of London, had been pleased to give the Secretary commendatory letters to the Bishops of the Oriental Church.

"The Secretary has now reported to the Committee, that in accordance with their wishes he visited Malta, Athens, Constantinople, and other intermediate places, but was prevented from extending his visit to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, on account of the war which broke out whilst he was in the Levant. He has stated that he met with a friendly reception from the heads of the Oriental Church generally; and in particular, that he was kindly and cordially received by the bishops and principal clergy of the kingdom of Greece, who are willing and desirous to receive such assistance as the Society may be able consistently to give towards the Christian instruction and improvement of the members of the Greek Church. In the conferences which he held with some of the Greek clergy, it was suggested by them that the Society would render much service to the Greek Church and to the cause of pure religion generally in the East, if it would print an edition of the Holy Scriptures in ancient Greek, and also of some portions of the works of the ancient Greek Fathers, so that they might be distributed, either gratuitously or at a very small price, particularly to the clergy. These are represented as being the works of which

they at present stand most in need; and a supply of them would be most gratefully received by the bishops and clergy in Greece.

"The Committee have therefore agreed, with the approbation of his Grace the President, to print an edition of the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament and an edition of the New Testament in ancient Greek, with the marginal references and the sections of Eusebius, according to the edition of Bishop Lloyd, for distribution in Greece and the Levant.

"The Committee also consider it advisable that the Society should print, for the same purpose, the Apostolic Fathers, the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, and the Homilies of St. Chrysostom; and they request that they may be empowered, with the approbation of his Grace the President, to print editions of these works for circulation among the clergy and other members of the Greek Church.

"The Committee are happy to learn that the authorities of the Greek Church will be glad to avail themselves of the offer made to them by the Secretary, of translating and printing any of the Society's publications, which they can consistently approve of, for circulation in Greece. But as the Standing Committee already possess the power of ordering such translations to be made, it will not be necessary to make any application to the Board for that purpose.

"It having been moved that the Report be adopted, and some discussion having taken place, it was moved by way of amendment by the Dean of Chichester,

"That the consideration of this Report be deferred till the next meeting."

"The Rev. R. Monro seconded this.

"The amendment was lost.

"The Rev. J. Endell Tyler then moved, as an amendment to the original motion,

"That the Report be adopted, with the omission of the words "the Apostolic Fathers."'

"This amendment was seconded by the Rev. Dr. D'Oyly, and carried."

In explanation of these proceedings it may be stated, that certain members present objected that the term "Apostolic Fathers" was too indefinite, and begged to be informed what writers were intended to be included under it. The Secretary replied that those Fathers were contemplated who were so termed by Archbishop Wake; whereupon a discussion arose on the question of what writers were entitled to the name, and on the comparative merits of those recognized by Archbishop Wake. Some members strongly protested against this discussion as contrary to the rules of the Society, which prohibit all debate on any theological subject. The objection however was overruled, and the Board proceeded at considerable length to entertain the questions. As might have been anticipated, no decision was arrived at. And hence, partly to evade the difficulty, and partly, it may be feared, from a wish to get rid of the "Apostolic Fathers," it was proposed to leave them out from the Report.

This proposal, it will be seen, was carried, notwithstanding a strenuous opposition on the part of a few members present.

These facts are painfully illustrative of the character of this Society's proceedings, and of its very faulty constitution. The simple facts are these:—The Primate of the English Church entered into communication with the heads of the Greek Church; and after diligent inquiry into the wants of that Church by the Secretary of the Society during a personal visit, it is proposed to print certain books for circulation amongst the Greek clergy. This proposal is maturely weighed by the Foreign Translation Committee, who, under the sanction and approbation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, draw up a Report recommending the adoption of the plan as above detailed. This plan is brought forward at a public meeting. *By chance* there happens to be present a majority unfavourable to a very important part of it. And on the spur of the moment, in an assembly as little deserving the name of *deliberative*, as can well be imagined, the proposal of the Committee, who, it must be supposed, had maturely considered it, and the sanction and approbation of the Archbishop are set at nought.

It cannot be said that this was merely a slight upon the Committee; because their recommendation was understood to have the approbation of the Archbishop. Besides, all they asked was, "to be empowered, *with the approbation of his Grace the President*, to print editions" of the proposed works for circulation in the Greek Church.

As the Report appears above, a stigma seems to be thrown on the Apostolic Fathers. Let the clergy of the Church of England observe the terms of the amendment which was carried; "That the Report be adopted, *with the omission of the words 'Apostolic Fathers.'*" Is this resolution in harmony with the general sentiments of the clergy! We confidently answer, no.

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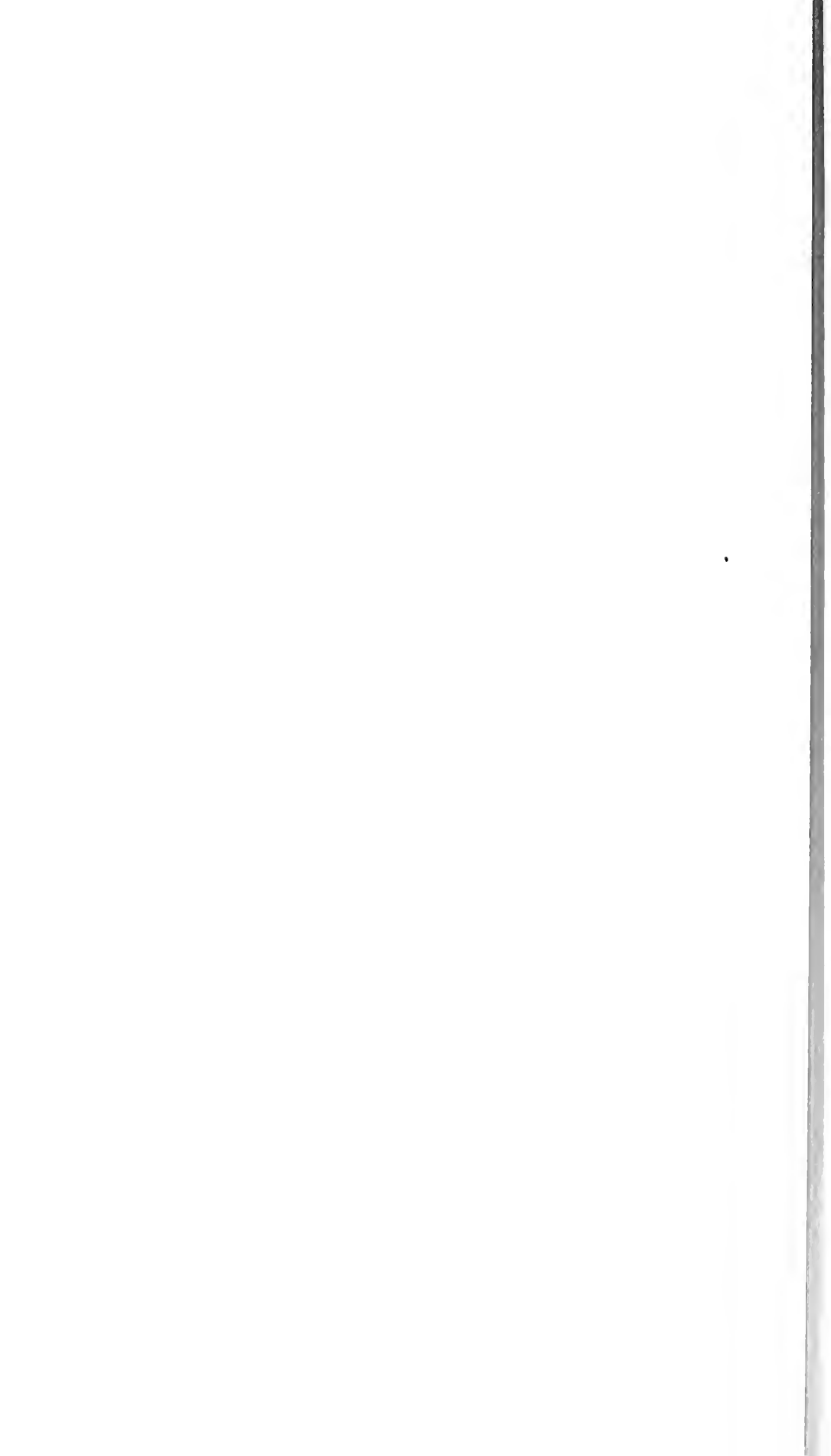
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DR. BIBER'S
STANDARD OF CATHOLICITY
VINDICATED;

BEING

A REPLY

TO

THE NOTICE OF THAT WORK, CONTAINED IN

NO. LVII. OF THE

BRITISH CRITIC.

The notice which has given rise to the following letter, is contained in No. LVII. of the *British Critic*, p. 241 ; and runs thus :—

“ Dr. Biber’s ‘Standard of Catholicity,’ (J. W. Parker) contains much thought and some great truths. We have taken some pains not to misunderstand him, and we are sure he cannot hold what yet he seems to us to say, viz. that there is no Christianity without union with the visible church, and no heterodoxy in those who sincerely seek divine communion in it. Hence, that orthodoxy is neither necessary for those who belong to it, nor available for those who do not. How this holds with maintaining the Athanasian Creed, does not appear ; nay, according to Dr. Biber, ‘creeds or articles,’ p. 194, must be incumbrances, or rather stumbling-blocks and snares. Surely a member of the English Church may fairly ask for a solution of these preliminary difficulties before he throws his mind into Dr. Biber’s reasonings.”

TO THE
EDITOR OF THE BRITISH CRITIC.

SIR,

My attention has been drawn to a notice, contained in your last number, of the Volume lately published by me under the title "The Standard of Catholicity;" in the concluding sentence of which you, as "a member of the English Church, ask for a solution" of certain "preliminary difficulties," before you shall "throw your mind into my reasonings." As a fellow-member and Minister of the same English Church, I am most ready to respond to the appeal so made, and doubt not that you will be equally willing to give me, with your readers, the benefit of the solution of the alleged difficulties which I herewith beg to offer; more especially as, despite of the "pains you have taken not to misunderstand me," you are perfectly correct in that distrust of your own conclusions which is implied in your very candid avowal, that "you are sure I cannot hold, what yet I seem to you to say." I much regret that you have not in all instances, as you have done in one, specified the passage or passages in my volume, from which you gathered the antithetical paradoxes imputed to me; as in regard to some of them I am wholly at a loss to imagine how your misconception of my meaning originated. To this circumstance it will be owing, if the following remarks shall not perhaps appear to you sufficiently explanatory of those parts of my argument to which you particularly allude; the only line of defence open to me, in the absence of all citation on your part, being to show that the propositions developed in my book are either widely different from, or wholly incompatible with, those which you seem to have gathered from it, and which, for the sake of greater clearness, I now proceed to take up, one by one, in the order in which they stand in your notice.

Your first impeachment of my argument is, for saying that "*there is no Christianity without union with the visible Church.*" Taking the term Christianity, as you seem to take it, in the sense attached to it by the confused phraseology of the

world, as signifying certain opinions, principles, habits, and arrangements professedly derived from, or shaped in accordance with, the contents of the sacred writings of which the Christian Church is the keeper and the witness, nothing could be more absurd than to assert that "there is no Christianity without union with the visible Church," in the face of the notorious all-denomination-Christianity of the present day, which does not withhold the name of Christians even from those who in direct terms "deny the Lord that bought them," the Lord whose name they so dishonestly appropriate. But the very purpose of my argument, from first to last, is to show, that forasmuch as "God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the Saints," there must be some fundamental mistake at the bottom of this all-denomination-Christianity, and to enable men not only to discern between the *one true*, and the *many kinds of spurious* Christianity co-existing in the world, but to put them in the right way for attaining the former, and eschewing the latter. With this object in view, I certainly do maintain at the outset of my argument, (ch. ii. & iii., p. 18—49,) that Christianity,—i. e., true Christianity, not any of its spurious imitations,—is "inseparable" both "from the voice of the Holy Spirit," and "from the body of the Church." I will not detain you by adducing here any arguments to show that the Church of Christ must of necessity be visible, or discussing the question how she may in her different branches be identified, points on which it is not likely that either you or your readers will differ from my views as put forth in ch. v. of my volume; but I will only, in regard to the alleged necessity of union with the visible Church, refer you for further explanation of my sentiments to the summary of my whole argument in ch. xii., p. 322 & 323; where *Christianity* is defined as "*a substantial life, begotten and perpetually sustained by the third Person of the blessed Godhead, the Holy Ghost, 'the Lord and giver of life,' in a body of men incorporated together as the 'Holy Catholic Church';*" and where it is farther asserted, that "*the life of Christianity, i. e., fellowship with the Holy Spirit, and membership in the Church, is by divine appointment associated with certain outward and visible signs, and certain outward and visible acts, called the Sacraments, and other means of grace.*" From these propositions and the conclusions to which they necessarily lead, I see no reason to shrink. That God *may* in the sovereignty of his grace overrule, or dispense with, his own appointed ordinances, is undoubtedly to be confessed; but it is not the business, I conceive, of the preacher of the Gospel, to propound that possibility as a ground of hope for those who wilfully withhold or withdraw themselves from the means of grace ordained by God. *Not the*

exception which God may make, (even if it were clearly ascertained to have been actually made by Him, which is impossible before the day of judgment,) *but the rule which God has laid down*, is the legitimate object of investigation for the Divine, and of inculcation for the Minister. Out of God's covenant, and beside his promise,—going beyond what God has revealed that He himself will do, or stopping short of what He has commanded that men should do,—no man has any ground for supposing his state to be otherwise than one of condemnation, whether simply by reason of original and actual guilt, or additionally through the sins of Apostasy or Schism. Christianity, therefore, considered not as a system, but as a state, and that state a state of life and salvation, is, though not necessarily consequent upon union with the visible Church, yet ordinarily, and by God's revealed promise, not attainable without it. If any man be offended at this, let him but remember that this state of salvation is not the natural inheritance, the birthright, as it were, of the children of Adam; but a free gift of divine grace, offered to man upon certain conditions and through certain channels, and which, therefore, it is not easily conceivable how any shall obtain who turn away from those conditions and channels in neglect, contempt, or opposition.

Having thus explicitly stated in what sense I do, and in what sense I do not, hold myself responsible for the proposition that “there is no Christianity without union with the visible Church,” I proceed to the second head of your charge, which imputes to me the strange assertion, that “*there is no heterodoxy in those who sincerely seek divine communion in the visible Church.*” I cannot even give a guess in what part of my book I may “seem to you to say” this: but if you will turn to chap. xi. of my volume, you will there find the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church distinctly repudiated as an untenable doctrine, the pernicious consequences of which, both upon the Church as a body, and upon the individuals composing it, are there plainly pointed out; at the same time that the separate responsibility of each individual branch of the Church Catholic for the joint trust plenary vested in each one of them, is insisted on as the merciful provision made by God against the irremediable obscuration or extinction of His truth through the absolute and undivided authority of one universal, fallible, and erring church. Now it seems obvious, that if I hold the Church herself to be, in all or any of her branches, not infallible, but liable to fall into heterodox opinions, such a possibility must be contemplated by me *a fortiori* in the case of her individual members, who may either have the misfortune of being ignorantly led astray by an erring church, or, if fortunate enough to be in communion with a church whose

doctrine is pure, may yet, through want of sufficient docility of spirit, or through imperfect apprehension of her instructions, be entangled in some of the many snares and toils of heterodoxy, which are set by the wily hand of Satan throughout the domain of the Church Catholic in every age. It is true that union with the visible Church, and sincerity of communion in her, either actually attained or sought after, is the readiest, nay, according to the terms of God's promise, which makes our knowledge of the truth contingent upon our obedience, the only way to orthodoxy, or a correct view of revealed truth; but it is one thing to say that a sincere use of all the means of grace which the Church points out and ministers, is the only way to orthodoxy, the only preservative against heterodoxy, and another thing to say that such a sincere use of the means of grace will, in every case, immediately, and at all times, insure orthodoxy, and render heterodoxy, a lapse into partial and transient error, morally impossible; one thing to say that Church communion is the necessary concomitant, another thing to say that it is the necessarily efficient cause of orthodoxy. The former proposition might, no doubt, fairly be gathered from my book, and I am prepared most strongly to affirm it; the latter I am not only positive that I never intended to advance, but can hardly persuade myself that I have any where, upon a fair construction of my words, incurred even the appearance of so erroneous a statement.

But to proceed: the third proposition charged upon me is, that "*orthodoxy is not necessary for those who belong to the visible Church.*" I hardly know which surprises me more, that two propositions so totally incompatible with one another as this and the preceding one, and to neither of which I am conscious of having made the slightest approach, should both be attributed to me as it were in the same breath; or that you should be so unconscious of their utter incongruity as to connect them by the logical hyphen 'hence,' as if the one being granted, the other must follow by necessary inference. I should have thought, that if heterodoxy were impossible, as is charged by you in the former count, in those who belong to the visible Church, orthodoxy must be in them not only not unnecessary, as charged in the latter count, but inevitable; those surely cannot help being orthodox, who are debarred from the possibility of being heterodox. I have no wish, however, to take shelter under this palpable inconsequence, and though I might hold myself exempt from the necessity of meeting a charge which has no better ground to rest on than a conclusion erroneously drawn from unfounded premises, I am nevertheless quite willing to enter upon the question itself; and by stating my views in regard to it, to give you the opportunity of convicting me of inconsistency, if

you can adduce any reasonings from my volume at variance with the statements I am about to make, or calculated to lead to the paradoxical proposition attributed to me, that "orthodoxy is not necessary for those who belong to the visible Church."

Of orthodoxy, I conceive, there are two kinds, elementary orthodoxy and progressive orthodoxy; and both I hold to be necessary for every Christian man, in order that he should attain the end of all Church membership,—the salvation of his soul. By elementary orthodoxy I understand that assent to certain fundamental articles of the Christian faith, which the Church Catholic has, in the form of creeds or symbols, made in all ages the condition of admission to, and continuance in, her communion. The necessity of orthodoxy in this very limited sense is at once apparent, not only because the Church makes it a *sine quâ non* of communion, but because a belief of the facts set forth in those fundamental articles is in the very nature of things indispensable to a right use of the means of grace ministered by the Church; as, *ex. gr.*, belief in the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of the Son of God, to the right use of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; belief in the Holy Ghost, to the right use of the inspired Scriptures; and so forth. But the Christian must not stop here; there is an orthodoxy beyond this acknowledgment of fundamental articles; an orthodoxy which consists in a fuller and deeper apprehension of the fundamental truths already acknowledged, and in a more correct view of divine truth generally, and which, as that apprehension and that view are progressive in every individual, may not unfitly be called progressive orthodoxy. This, also, I hold to be necessary to a safe and profitable continuance in church communion, because the Christian state is in its very essence one of growth in knowledge, as in every other fruit of the Spirit; so much so, that he who does not progress, necessarily retrogrades. This is as true of the illumination of the mind, as of the sanctification of the heart, both of which are operations of that one Spirit, whose office it is to "lead" the children of God "into all truth," and to "sanctify them through the truth." If either of these operations languish, or cease altogether, there is reason to fear that the individual in whom the work of divine grace has thus become stagnant, is "grieving," and it may be "quenching, the Spirit."

In no sense, therefore, neither in the most limited, nor in the widest sense in which the term orthodoxy may be understood, can it be said that "orthodoxy is not necessary for those who belong to the visible Church." The very reverse of that strange proposition is the conclusion to which I conceive the argument of my volume would lead a careful reader, not only by its

general scope, but by the specific views laid down in such parts of it as directly or indirectly bear upon this question. As regards what I have, for the sake of brevity, termed elementary orthodoxy, I would refer you, for example, to page 147, where the existence, from the first, of formularies of belief, as tests of orthodoxy and conditions of church communion, is distinctly asserted, not only as an historical fact, but as one which "would obviously result from the nature of the case;" while, on the other hand, the necessity of progressive orthodoxy could hardly be denied or lost sight of in an argument, in which "continuance in the apostolic doctrine" is again and again insisted on, (see pp. 82, 83; 210; 368;) as one of "the essential elements of the Church constitution;" in which, while a licentious exercise of private judgment is plainly condemned, every individual member of the Church is reminded (p. 319) that he shares, according to the measure of authority committed to him in the Church, in that responsibility which rests upon the whole Church collectively for the right exercise of her authority; under which general term, as the reference already made to other passages clearly shows, the maintenance of sound apostolic doctrine is included.

I am next made to say, or to "seem to say," that "*orthodoxy is not available for those who do not belong to the visible Church.*" In the general sense in which you have imputed to me this proposition, I fear I must disclaim it, as forming no part either of the views I entertain, or of the book I have written. At the same time, there is a sense in which it is true enough, and in which, whether I have already committed myself to it by some passage or other in my volume or not, I am quite willing to adopt and to defend it, though I should hardly have expressed it in language so ambiguous as that in which, for the sake of antithesis I suppose, you have clothed it. To explain: He who does not belong to the visible Church is either one who does not even pretend to be a Christian, that is, an idolater, a Turk, a Jew, an infidel, or, to use for the latter genus a smoother name, a philosopher; or else he is one that professes to be a Christian, but apart from the visible body of the Church, that is, if not a heretic, at the least a schismatic. Now, in either case, for such an one to be "fetched home to the Lord's flock" with a view to his being finally "saved among the remnant of the true Israelites," it is necessary that he should be convinced of "the truth as it is in Jesus;" and that upon the ground of that conviction he should be incorporated, at some time or other in the progress of his religious career, in the visible Church of Christ. Between the moment of his conviction and that of his incorporation, a period (which according to the degree of solicitude

he feels for the salvation of his soul, the greater or less urgency with which he finds his mind affected by the impulses of divine grace, or the opportunities he may have of seeking and obtaining communion with a Christian church, may be a longer or shorter one) must intervene, during which he may be undoubtedly orthodox, though not in union with the visible Church; and it would be preposterous to say that his orthodoxy was of no avail to him, seeing that it is a preliminary qualification, and would most probably act as an incentive, to his entrance into the ark of salvation. In this way, even one who is identified with one of the various systems of schism which surround the Church, may be benefited by a certain range of orthodox opinions prevalent in his sect; if, namely, he be led by the grace of God, as not a few are in our day, to separate those opinions from that admixture of error which all schism necessarily involves, though it may not be error of so deep a dye as to procure for it the appellation of heresy. So far then, it is clear, that "orthodoxy may be available even for those who do not belong to the Church;" but if, on the other hand, orthodoxy be looked upon, as unfortunately it is by too many, as a substitute for union with the visible Church, as a safeguard against the fire of the last day, so far sufficient as to render continued separation from the visible Church, and neglect of the means of grace ministered by her, a safe proceeding, it is evident that no error can be grosser or more fatal than to suppose that "orthodoxy will be available for those who do not belong to the visible Church." So far as I can understand the terms of God's offer of mercy, and the cautions against presumption, high-mindedness, and carnal self-will, by which it is accompanied, I fear that the so-called orthodoxy of numbers who keep aloof from the Church, as well as that of numbers who, though comprised in her outward communion, live and die with unsanctified hearts, will only increase their damnation. Feeling the peril to their souls which schismatics unquestionably incur, and feeling that it is the bounden duty of the Church to warn them of this their peril, I confess it is never without serious concern that I hear churchmen acquiesce in the appellation "orthodox dissenters," an appellation which appears to me a contradiction in terms. I can allow it, indeed, in reference to individuals, because the individual may be,—charity would conclude that he is,—in a transition state; he may be orthodox, because he has travelled thus far on the path of truth, and a dissenter, because he has as yet got no further; but in application to a system which is to be permanent, and professes to be complete, the same excuse cannot be made; and therefore to say of settled bodies of dissenters that they are, or, which amounts to the same thing, to say of dissent itself that it is, orthodox,

seems palpably inconsistent. And in point of fact so shall we find it, if we look a little closer into the so-called orthodoxy of the dissenting bodies in our own land. I will not set the standard of orthodoxy too high; let the Athanasian and Nicene creeds be put aside, and let no more be demanded of the "orthodox dissenters" than an unfeigned assent to the Apostles' creed: what, I should like to know, is the construction which a consistent dissenter will, nay must, put upon the profession of belief in the "Holy Catholic Church," and the "Communion of Saints?" To his mind, he who submits himself to those that are "over him in the Lord," and he who points at the lawfully ordained ministers of Christ as at "hirelings and dumb dogs,"—he who, in "the bread which we break and the cup which we bless," seeks by faith in God's promise "the communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ," and he who despises that bread and that cup as "a carnal ordinance," are both fellow-members of "the Holy Catholic Church," and the sweetness of their communion consists in this, that what the one treats with reverent obedience, the other loads with opprobrious contempt. Surely it is mockery to say that these two articles, "the Holy Catholic Church," and "the Communion of Saints," have any real existence in the creed of "orthodox dissenters." Nor is their belief in certain other articles of the Apostles' creed, in which they appear to agree with the Church, much more to be depended upon, at least if we may "know them by their fruits." It is certainly a remarkable fact, one which in these latter days has become more especially observable, that in some portion or other of almost every dissenting denomination, even of those who most pride themselves on their orthodoxy, there has been a tendency manifested to sink down into low and unsound views of the Holy Trinity, of the perfect Godhead and manhood of our Lord, of the personality of the Holy Ghost, of the inspiration of the Scriptures, of the second advent of Christ, and of other like high and fundamental doctrines. Nor need we wonder at this: error is more grateful to the natural man than truth; and if, even with the most diligent use of the appointed means of grace, truth is a plant of slow growth in the human mind, what hope can we have of its thriving under the influence of a wilful and systematic neglect or contempt of those means? Of such orthodoxy as is consistent with that state, that is to say, of a merely verbal assent to a certain limited number of propositions which form part of God's truth, I am not afraid to say and to maintain, that it is of no benefit to those who boast of its possession; and in this sense I am ready to maintain, that "orthodoxy is not available for those who do not belong to the visible Church."

Having thus pleaded, I trust to your satisfaction, to the four

leading propositions charged upon me, I may perhaps hold myself absolved from the obligation of making it "*appear how all this*," which I did not say, but only, by some strange misapprehension, seemed to you to say, "*holds with maintaining the Athanasian creed*;" on the contrary, I flatter myself that you will not be very incredulous, if I assure you of my firm adherence to, and I may add, my sincere admiration of, that most perspicuous and comprehensive of all symbolical compositions.

There remains but one point of your notice to be adverted to, expressed by you as follows:—"Nay, according to Dr. Biber, '*creeds or articles*' must be *incumbrances, or rather stumbling-blocks and snares*." I am truly thankful that you did not in this instance, as in the others, tax my ingenuity to discover in what part of my book you had contrived to read that sentiment; for I own I should have been utterly at fault, and certainly should not have thought of looking for it in the passage referred to by you. If you will do me the favour once more to turn to that passage, and to look (which it is always fair, and for the most part necessary, to do, in order rightly to apprehend an author's meaning) at the context in which it stands, and the general scope of the argument in the course of which it is introduced, you will, I think, find it rather difficult to make out even a plausible excuse for attributing to me a sentiment so preposterous, and so totally at variance with all the views advocated in my volume, as the one above quoted. My argument, in the place in question, turns on the insufficiency of Scripture, as alleged by a certain school of Divines, for the establishment of Christian doctrine, without the aid of a more systematic "*apostolic tradition*." The course of this argument led me naturally enough to "*inquire (p. 194) into the reasons for which some matters were left in Scripture (apparently or really) undefined or undetermined*;" and for the purpose of proceeding aright in that inquiry, to "*look back upon the essential life and the ultimate purpose of Christianity*." Not in reference, therefore, to the usefulness, or otherwise, of creeds and articles, but in reference to the indisputable fact, that no creeds or articles are contained in the written Word of God, and with a view to account for that fact, was the passage written which you have so infelicitously paraphrased, and which in its integrity runs as follows:—"If the object of Christianity were to perpetuate through an indefinite succession of human generations certain abstract propositions of truth, and certain observances in regard to the worship of God, or the government of bodies of worshippers under the sanction of those principles, the best and shortest way to such an end would have been the revelation on the part of God of those propositions in the form of a systematic body of doctrine, whether creed, articles, or institutes, and of those observances

in the form of a ritual code ; as was actually done in regard to the latter point by the law of Moses, when the continuance of certain observances was to be attained, as a subordinate object in God's great purpose. But the establishment over all the earth of the Christian church has an object far more nearly connected with that great and ultimate purpose ; its progress only is associated with the earth ; its direct and immediate object is altogether heavenly ; the Church is *in the world* but not '*of the world.*' Its doctrines of truth, its ordinances of grace, are guaranteed upon earth by the authentic document of God's providing, and propagated and dispensed in the world by the authorized messengers and ministers of God's appointing ; but the real object is to bring each individual soul of man into daily deepening communion with the eternal spirit of truth and holiness, to make it to draw and to drink of the fountain of ever-living waters. Necessarily, therefore, in accordance with this purpose, the revelation vouchsafed to the Christian church was such, as would prevent the possibility of resting in the letter of doctrines, and the form of ordinances ; such as could be made available only by constant dependance on, and communion with, the spirit of life. And how admirably, for this purpose, are the Scriptures contrived !"

Not a word here to justify the charge that "according to me 'creeds or articles' must be incumbrances, or rather stumbling-blocks and snares:" as well might you charge me with rejecting all "doctrines," or despising "the ordinances," because I point out the danger of "resting in the letter" of the one, and "in the form" of the other. But I need not confine myself to the negative in my defence against the imputation cast upon me, by showing that the passage pointed out by you does not contain any thing which can fairly be construed as bearing the sense you have put upon it ; I am enabled to rebut the charge by positive evidence, and for this purpose beg to refer you to another passage, in which I professedly treat of the use of 'creeds and articles,' and which could hardly have escaped you, if in default of "*throwing your mind* into my reasonings," for which you did not see sufficient cause, you had at least *cast your eye* carefully over my pages, before you attributed to me all the incongruities which your concise pen has compressed within the narrow compass of less than a dozen lines. In the course of my examination (ch. x.) into the responsibility which devolves upon the Church to preserve inviolate, and duly to execute, the trust committed to her charge, I am necessarily led to speak, among her other duties, of "the transmission (p. 252) of the true form of doctrine, founded upon a right interpretation of the Scriptures of truth, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit." This, then, is assuredly the place for ascertaining the light in which I view 'creeds

and articles,' and my opinion on the point is thus recorded:—
 "It is undoubtedly true, that the existing generation of the Church must, in the very nature of things, be the teacher of the rising generation; it is true, moreover, that the duty of teaching sound doctrine is a duty altogether distinct from the mere transmission of the letter of Scripture, and that *the performance of that duty is greatly facilitated by the aid of summaries and formularies of the principal articles of belief, such as our Church has either borrowed from antiquity, or framed for herself, in the legitimate exercise of her authority.* But it is also true, that without a continual reference to Scripture, in which the truths asserted are divinely authenticated, and to the influence of that Holy Spirit who alone can breathe life into the letter, the inculcation of such formularies, *however excellent,* is of no avail for the essential purposes which the propagation of sound doctrine is intended to answer. We may by such a process maintain a creed upon the lips of the Church, but we shall not build up, as we ought to do, the hearts of its members in the true faith. For that purpose every individual learner must for himself examine every doctrine taught him, in order to ascertain its consonance with Scripture; he must, in humble prayer and sincere submission of heart, seek the influence of God's Holy Spirit, that He may guide him into all truth. If he neglect to do so, he leaves his responsibility dormant, and the evil consequence of a wavering and doubtful belief will not be tardy in following. If those that teach him, neglect to point out to him the necessity of searching the Scriptures, and of seeking the aid of the Spirit, they also lamentably fail in the discharge of their duty; and the avenging effect will soon be, that what they have taught upon the simple faith of their authority, will, for the want of a better-founded faith, be speedily forgotten, or called in question, or, as is now too much the fashion, treated with supreme indifference."

After reading this passage, I am sure you will not maintain that the writer of it is fairly chargeable with the proposition that "creeds or articles must be incumbrances, or rather stumbling-blocks and snares." It may gratify you, moreover, to find, by turning over leaf, that formularies and articles of faith are not less, but more, highly valued by me in proportion as they are not framed in a later age, but have descended through successive generations of the Church as heir-looms of her faith. After maintaining that it is "the duty of every successive generation of the Church to test the doctrine transmitted to it, in the formularies of the Church or otherwise, by the touchstone of Scripture, and to submit all its convictions to the confirming and sanctifying influence of the Spirit of truth," you will find me (page 256) paying the following homage to the testimony of

the Church in former ages: "From the fact that the truth of God is unchangeable, it necessarily follows, that the more faithfully each successive generation of the Church discharges that part of her trust, which consists in the maintenance of sound doctrine, the greater will be the agreement between the doctrines proclaimed and put on record by those who speak or write the mind of the Church in different ages. If in process of time it come to pass that the Church depart from sound doctrine, the first revival of it will produce a striking agreement between the convictions of the age which has returned to the truth, and those of former and purer ages. And in that agreement who is there that, having 'the mind of Christ,' would not exceedingly rejoice; who that does not feel, that as cotemporary Christians by their unanimity in sound doctrine build up one another 'in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God,' so likewise the comparison of the witness borne to God's truth in our own time with the testimony of by-gone ages, cannot fail to be productive of edification, not only by strengthening our conviction of the truth of that which is attested by 'so great a cloud of witnesses,' but by lifting up our hearts and minds above the narrowness of transient associations, above the prejudices of our own time, to the contemplation of God's unchangeable purpose in 'building up a spiritual house,' which is steadily and silently progressing amidst all the changes of this perishable life. The feelings of that man are not to be envied, whose heart does not warm at every coincidence of thought between his own meditations on divine truth and the writings of holy men of old, who 'are fallen asleep in Christ,' and are waiting with us to 'be made perfect.' To scorn or deride them, because in some points they had not the same advantages of clear knowledge and well-defined doctrine, which after the trial of the Church's faith through a succession of ages we happily enjoy, to make their errors and infirmities a pretence for disregarding their testimony to God's truth, and despising their faith, which often was far more earnest, more sincere, more self-denying than our own, is as unworthy of that charity which 'rejoiceth in the truth,' as is the surly egotism of those who, 'thinking of themselves more highly than they ought to think,' shut themselves up, in fancied superiority, from the fellowship of Christians of their own day, forgetting that our not 'having fellowship one with another,' is of itself a proof, that we are not 'walking in the light.' But—" and here I fear we come to the real stumbling-block, to the main difficulty, which has attended your perusal of my volume, and reflected its contents upon your mind in so glaringly false a light,— "but from the most ardent desire to cultivate for our edification an acquaintance with Christian minds of former days,

from the most unfeigned joy at the sameness of the one faith, evidenced by their confession and by ours, to the substitution of their testimony as an authoritative ground of our belief, in the place of the witness of Holy Writ, and the witness of the Holy Spirit in our hearts, there is a step, which to the carnally minded may appear a short and insensible one, but which the spiritually minded at once perceives to be as immense as it is unlawful. To pay a superstitious deference to the opinions of past ages in matters of divine truth, and to suffer the record of those opinions in the form of 'Catholic tradition' to supersede that 'anointing which abideth in us, and teacheth us of all things, and is truth,' is as complete a nullifying of the grace of God in the outpouring of his Holy Spirit upon his Church, as the attempt to establish our own righteousness by the works of the law is a nullifying of the grace of God in our justification by the blood of Christ. Let us take heed, then, how we 'frustrate the grace of God : ' for if the knowledge of the truth come by tradition, the Holy Ghost is poured out in vain, as truly as 'if righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain.' "

I think it far from improbable, that to this part of the views contained in my volume you will feel a strong objection ; but so long as it is understood on what we differ, I have no right and no disposition to complain. In particular reference to 'creeds and articles,' I am happy to be able to demonstrate the consonance of my views with those which a member of the English Church *ought* to entertain, by an appeal to the "Article" which treats "of the three Creeds," and in which our Church asserts, that they "ought thoroughly to be received and believed," not because they have descended to us by "Catholic tradition," but because "they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture."

In conclusion allow me to say, that however pointedly I may have deemed it my duty to lay open the misconstruction of my arguments which pervades your notice, I am far from imputing to you any intentional misrepresentation. On the contrary, I fully appreciate the ingenuousness with which you confess, that you have your misgivings as to the correctness of the interpretation you have put upon my words ; and I doubt not that you will give farther proof of your candour, by assisting me in laying this my defence before the same portion of the public, whom your notice of my volume must have greatly prejudiced, both against the book and its author.

I do not at all expect that the explanations I have now entered into, will have brought you and myself nearer to an agreement upon the points *really* at issue between us ; but if the "solution

of your preliminary difficulties" with which I have now furnished you, should induce you to "throw your mind into my reasonings," and to direct your attacks not upon what, without sufficient examination, I may "seem to you to say," but upon what I really do say, I shall be most happy to resume the discussion, not from love of controversy, but from the same desire to "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the Saints," which in the first instance prompted my "attempt to point out in a plain manner certain safe and leading principles, amidst the conflicting opinions by which the Church is at present agitated."

Believe me to be, most sincerely,

Your humble servant and brother in the Lord,

G. E. BIBER.

COOMBE WOOD,

January 30th, 1841.

